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ETERNAL GLORY TO OUR GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG!

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG WILL LIVE FOREVER IN

OUR HEARTS!

LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM-

MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!

Quotations from Chairman Mao

Act according to the principles laid down.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.

Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.

The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party.

The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism.

We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles.

What "taking the three directives as the key link"! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle. Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.

Comrades, unite and fight resolutely and bravely for the great cause of socialism. All words and actions which depart from socialism are utterly wrong.

* * *

Message to Whole Party, Whole Army and People of
All Nationalities Throughout Country

by

Central Committee of Communist Party of China,
Standing Committee of National People's Congress
of People's Republic of China,
State Council of People's Republic of China, and
Military Commission of Central Committee of
Communist Party of China

(Hung-Ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

the central committee of the communist party of china, the standing committee of the national people's congress of the people's republic of china, the state council of the people's republic of china and the military commission of the central committee of the communist party of china announce with deepest grief to the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country: comrade mao tsetung, the esteemed and beloved great leader of our party, our army and the people of all the nationalities of our country, the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, chairman of the central committee of the communist party of china, chairman of the military commission of the central committee of the communist party of china, and honorary chairman of the national committee of the chinese people's political consultative conference, passed away at 00:10 hours, september 9, 1976 in peking because of the worsening of his illness and despite all treatment, although meticulous medical care was given him in every way after he fell ill.

chairman mao tsetung was the founder and wise leader of the communist party of china, the chinese people's liberation army and the people's republic of china. chairman mao led our party in waging a protracted, acute and complex struggle against the right and "left" opportunist lines in the party, defeating the opportunist lines pursued by chen tu-hsiu, chu chiu-pai, li li-san, lo chang-lung, wang ming, chang kuo-tao, kao kang-jao shu-shih and peng teh-huai and again, during the great proletarian cultural revolution, triumphing over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping, thus enabling our party to develop and grow in strength steadily in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. led by chairman mao,

the communist party of china has developed through a tortuous path into a great, glorious and correct marxist-leninist party which is today exercising leadership over the people's republic of china.

during the period of the new democratic revolution, chairman mao, in accordance with the universal truth of marxism-leninism and by combining it with the concrete practice of the chinese revolution, creatively laid down the general line and general policy of the new democratic revolution, founded the chinese people's liberation army and pointed out that the seizure of political power by armed force in china could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seizing the cities, and not by any other road. he led our party, our army and the people of our country in using people's war to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, winning the great victory of the new democratic revolution and founding the people's republic of china. the victory of the chinese people's revolution led by chairman mao changed the situation in the east and the world and blazed a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

in the period of the socialist revolution, chairman mao comprehensively summed up the positive as well as the negative experience of the international communist movement; penetratingly analyzed the class relations in socialist society and, for the first time in the history of the development of marxism, unequivocally pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, drew the scientific conclusion that the bourgeoisie is right in the communist party, put forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid down the party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. guided by chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our party, our army and the people of our country continued their triumphant advance and seized great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, particularly in the great proletarian cultural revolution, in criticizing lin piao and confucius and in criticizing teng hsiao-ping and repulsing the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts. upholding socialism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the people's republic of china, a

country with a vast expanse and a large population, is a great contribution of world historic significance which chairman mao tsetung made to the present era; at the same time, it has provided fresh experience for the international communist movement in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

all the victories of the chinese people were achieved under the leadership of chairman mao; they are all great victories for mao tsetung thought. the radiance of mao tsetung thought will forever illuminate the road of advance of the chinese people.

chairman mao tsetung summed up the revolutionary practice in the international communist movement, put forward a series of scientific theses, enriched the theoretical treasury of marxism and indicated the orientation of struggle for the chinese people and the revolutionary people throughout the world. with the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he initiated in the international communist movement the great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, promoted the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward.

chairman mao tsetung was the greatest marxist of the contemporary era. in the past half a century and more, basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of marxism-leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, he inherited, defended and developed marxism-leninism in the protracted struggle against the class enemies at home and abroad, both inside and outside the party, and wrote a most brilliant chapter in the history of the movement of proletarian revolution. he dedicated all his energies throughout his life to the liberation of the chinese people, to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, and to the cause of communism. with the great resolve of a proletarian revolutionary, he waged a tenacious struggle against his illness, continued to lead the work of the whole party, the whole army and the whole nation during his illness and fought till his last breath. the magnificent contributions he made for the chinese people, the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the whole world are

immortal. the chinese people and the revolutionary people the world over love him from the bottom of their hearts and have boundless admiration and respect for him.

the passing away of chairman mao tsetung is an inestimable loss to our party, our army and the people of all the nationalities of our country, to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries and to the international communist movement. his passing away is bound to evoke immense grief in the hearts of the people of our country and the revolutionary people of all countries. the central committee of the communist party of china calls on the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to turn their grief into strength with determination:

we must carry on the cause left behind by chairman mao and persist in taking class struggle as the key link, keep to the party's basic line and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

we must carry on the cause left behind by chairman mao and strengthen the centralized leadership of the party, resolutely uphold the unity and unification of the party and closely rally round the party central committee. we must strengthen the building of the party ideologically and organizationally in the course of the struggle between the two lines and resolutely implement the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young in accordance with the five requirements for bringing up successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

we must carry on the cause left behind by chairman mao and consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepen the criticism of teng hsiao-ping, continue the struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution, enthusiastically support the new socialist things, restrict bourgeois right and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. we should continue to unfold the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands,

through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift, and go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

we must carry on the cause left behind by chairman mao and resolutely implement his line on army building, strengthen the building of the army, strengthen the building of the militia, strengthen preparedness against war, heighten our vigilance, and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to intrude. we are determined to liberate taiwan.

we must carry on the cause left behind by chairman mao and continue to carry out chairman mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs resolutely. we must adhere to proletarian internationalism, strengthen the unity between our party and the genuine marxist-leninist parties and organizations all over the world, strengthen the unity between the people of our country and the people of all other countries, especially those of the third world countries, unite with all the forces in the world that can be united, and carry the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism through to the end. we will never seek hegemony and will never be a superpower.

we must carry on the cause left behind by chairman mao and assiduously study marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, apply ourselves to the study of works by marx, engels, lenin and stalin and works by chairman mao, fight for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and strive to build our country into a powerful socialist state, make a still greater contribution to humanity and realize the ultimate goal of communism.

long live invincible marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought excl.

long live the great, glorious and correct communist party of china excl.

eternal glory to our great leader and teacher chairman mao tsetung excl.

Memorial Speech by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng,
First Vice Chairman of Central Committee
of Communist Party of China and Premier
of State Council, at Mass Memorial Meeting
for Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

comrades and friends:

today, representatives of the party, government and army organizations, workers, peasants, soldiers and other circles in the capital are here at tienanmen square holding a solemn mass memorial meeting and, along with the people of all nationalities throughout the country, mourning with the most profound sorrow chairman mao tsetung, our esteemed and beloved great leader and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

over the last few days, the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have been immersed in boundless sorrow at the passing of chairman mao tsetung. the cause that our great leader chairman mao devoted his whole life to is linked by flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people. it was under chairman mao's leadership that the chinese people who had long suffered from oppression and exploitation won emancipation and became masters of the country. it was under chairman mao's leadership that the disaster-plagued chinese nation rose to its feet. the chinese people love, trust and esteem chairman mao from the bottom of their hearts. the international proletariat and progressive mankind all deeply mourn the death of chairman mao.

chairman mao tsetung was the founder and wise leader of the communist party of china, the chinese people's liberation army and the people's republic of china.

chairman mao tempered and nurtured our party in the struggles it carried out under his leadership against class enemies at home and abroad and inside and outside the party, in hard, long, acute and complex class struggle and two-line struggles. the history of the chinese communist party is a history of struggles between chairman mao's marxist-leninist line and the

right and "left" opportunist lines in the party. under chairman mao's leadership, our party defeated the opportunist lines pursued by chen tu-hsiu, chu chiu-pai, li li-san, lo chang-lung, wang ming, chang kuo-tao, kao kang--jao shu-shih and peng teh-huai and again, during the great proletarian cultural revolution, triumphed over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping. guided by chairman mao's marxist-leninist line, our party has steadily grown in strength; it has developed from small groups of a few dozen communists into a party with a membership of over 30 million which now leads the people's republic of china, into a disciplined party armed with the theory of marxism-leninism, using the method of self-criticism and closely linked with the masses of the people, and into a great, glorious and correct marxist-leninist party.

chairman mao tempered and nurtured our army in protracted revolutionary wars. he long ago put forward the famous thesis that "(boldface begins) political power grows out of the barrel of a gun (boldface ends)". he led the autumn harvest uprising, founded the first worker-peasant red army and set up the first rural revolutionary base area in the chingkang mountains. in the last 50 years, chairman mao led our army in smashing the counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the kuomintang against the revolutionary base areas, in successfully completing the world-renowned 25,000-li long march, in defeating japanese imperialism, in wiping out eight million troops of the chiang kai-shek gang armed by u.s. imperialism and, after the founding of new china, in victoriously waging the war to resist u.s. aggression and aid korea, triumphantly repulsing the armed provocations against our country by soviet revisionist social-imperialism and reaction, and defending the security of the motherland. during the great proletarian cultural revolution, our army followed chairman mao's teachings and supported industry, agriculture and the broad masses of the left, exercised military control and gave political and military training, thereby making new contributions to the people. chairman mao formulated a marxist-leninist line for our army on army building and the strategy and tactics of people's war, and this is the fundamental reason why our army was able to grow from small to big, from weak to strong, develop into powerful armed forces

combining field armies, local armies and a vast militia and become the solid pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. against the people's armed forces armed with mao tsetung thought, any enemy that dares to intrude will certainly be drowned in the vast ocean of people's war.

basing himself on the universal truth of marxism-leninism and integrating it with the concrete practice of the chinese revolution, chairman mao tsetung correctly solved the series of fundamental problems concerning the seizure of political power by armed force, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of capitalist restoration in china.

during the period of the new-democratic revolution, chairman mao analysed chinese history and existing conditions and the principal contradiction in chinese society, correctly answered the questions of the targets, tasks, motive forces, character, perspectives and transformation of the new-democratic revolution in china, and laid down the general line and general policy of our party for that historical period, that is, the new-democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. chairman mao pointed out that the seizure of political power by armed force in china could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities, and not by any other road. summing up the historical experience of our party, chairman mao pointed out that the three principal magic weapons for the chinese communist party to defeat the enemy in the chinese revolution were a communist party built on the marxist-leninist revolutionary theory and in the marxist-leninist revolutionary style, an army under the leadership of such a party, and a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a party. chairman mao led our party in using these three weapons to win the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and found the people's republic of china. the victory of the chinese people's revolution led by chairman mao changed the situation in the east and in the world, blazing a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

in the new historical period of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat

in china, chairman mao summed up both the positive and the negative experience of the international communist movement, made a penetrating analysis of the class relations in socialist society by applying the marxist-leninist theory of the unity of opposites, and pointed out that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. for the first time in the history of the development of marxism, chairman mao explicitly pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, put forward the thesis that in socialist society there are two different types of contradictions -- those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, and advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. chairman mao time and again admonished the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, "(boldface begins) never forget class struggle (boldface ends)"; he pointed out that socialist society covers a considerably long historical period and that, throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, and established the party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. in view of the changes in class relations and the characteristics of the class struggle in the period of socialism, chairman mao drew the scientific conclusion: "(boldface begins) you are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. it is right in the communist party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road. (boldface ends)" representing the aspirations and interests of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants to continue the revolution, chairman mao himself initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution, which smashed the schemes of liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping for restoration, criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and enabled us to seize back that portion of leading power in the party and state they had usurped, thus ensuring china's victorious advance along the marxist-leninist road. the constant defeat of subversion and sabotage by imperialism,

revisionism and reaction, the upholding of socialism and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the people's republic of china, a populous country with a vast territory -- this is a great contribution of world historic significance made by chairman mao tsetung to the present era and has at the same time provided the international communist movement with new experience in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

chairman mao tsetung was the greatest marxist of the contemporary era. with the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he launched the great struggle in the international communist movement to criticize modern revisionism with the soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, brought about the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward. basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of marxism-leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, chairman mao summed up the experience of domestic and international revolutionary struggles, inherited, defended and developed marxism-leninism in all respects and enriched the treasure-house of marxist theory. mao tsetung thought is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and for opposing imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. (boldface begins) the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. (boldface ends) all victories won by the chinese people are great victories of mao tsetung thought. mao tsetung thought will always illuminate the chinese people's road of advance.

chairman mao tsetung is a brilliant example of whole-hearted devotion to the interests of the people of china and the world. chairman mao dedicated all his energies throughout his life till his last breath to the liberation of the chinese people, to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, and to the cause of communism. a great proletarian revolutionary like chairman mao, who weathers all kinds of revolutionary storms, overcomes every difficulty and hardship, and always identifies himself with the workers, peasants and other labouring people and stands in the van of

the revolutionary movement to guide it forward, is rare indeed in the annals of the proletarian revolutionary movement. the magnificent contributions chairman mao made in revolutionary theory and practice are immortal. chairman mao has passed away. this is a loss beyond measure to our party, our army and the people of all nationalities of our country, to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries and to the international communist movement.

the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must respond to the call of the party central committee actively, turn grief into strength, carry on the cause left behind by chairman mao, "(boldface begins) practise marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire (boldface ends)" and, under the leadership of the party central committee, carry through to the end the cause of the proletarian revolution in china which chairman mao pioneered.

internally, we must conscientiously study marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the basic line and the policies of the party for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepen the struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution, combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands and rely on our own efforts, work to build our country into a powerful socialist state, and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity. we are determined to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating taiwan and reunifying our motherland.

externally, we must continue to carry out resolutely chairman mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, uphold proletarian internationalism, and never seek hegemony. we must strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, strengthen our unity with the people

of the third world countries, and strengthen our unity with all the countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying by imperialism and social-imperialism so as to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism, in particular against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the soviet union and the united states. we must unite with all genuine marxist-leninist parties and organizations in the world and wage a common struggle for the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man and the realization of communism on earth, for the liberation of all mankind excl.

chairman mao tsetung will live forever in our hearts excl.

long live invincible marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought excl.

long live the great, glorious and correct communist party of china excl.

eternal glory to the great leader and teacher chairman mao tsetung excl.

Composition of Funeral Committee for
Chairman Mao Tsetung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

the composition of the funeral committee for chairman mao tsetung:

hua kuo-feng, wang hung-wen, yeh chien-ying, chang chun-chiao,

(the following are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.)

wei kuo-ching, liu po-cheng, chiang ching (f.), hsu shih-yu, chi teng-kuei, wu teh, wang tung-hsing, chen yung-kuei, chen hsi-lien, li hsien-nien, li teh-sheng, yao wen-yuan, wu kuei-hsien (f.), su chen-hua, ni chih-fu, saifudin,

soong ching ling (f.), kuo mo-jo, hsu hsiang-chien, nieh jung-chen, chen yun, tan chen-lin, li ching-chuan, chang ting-cheng, tsai chang (f.), ulanfu, ngapo ngawang-jigme, chou chien-jen, hsu teh-heng, hu chueh-wen, li su-wen (f.), yao lien-wei, wang chen, yu chiu-li, ku mu, sun chien, su yu, shen yen-ping, pebala gelieh-namje, chiang hua, ting sheng, ting ko-tse, ting kuo-yu, ma ning, ma tien-shui, yu sang, yu hui-yung, yu hung-liang, wang cheng, wang pi-cheng, wang hung-kun, wang hsiu-chen (f.), wang kuo-fan, wang shou-tao, wang shu-chen (f.), wang huai-hsiang, wang chao-chu, tien pao, pasang (f.), fang yi, teng ying-chao (f.), yu tai-chung, kung shih-chuan, kung chao-nien, feng hsuan, ismayil aymat, pai ju-ping, tien hua-kuei, tien wei-hsin, liu wei, liu tzu-hou, liu hsing-yuan, liu chun-yi, liu hsien-chuan, liu chien-hsun, liu sheng-tien, liu hsiang-ping (f.), liu hsi-chang, chiang li-yin, chiang yung-hui, chiang hsieh-yuan, lu yu-lan (f.), an ping-sheng, chuang tse-tung, hua lin-sen, chiao kuan-hua, jen ssu-chung, nieh chi-jung, hsing yen-tzu (f.), chen kang, chen shih-chu, chen hsien-jui, chen chi-han, chen mu-hua (f.), tu ping, li ta, li chiang, li shui-ching, li jen-chih, li chih-min, li shun-ta, li pao-hua, li jui-shan, yang yung, yang chun-fu, yang teh-chih, wu tao, wu ta-sheng, su ching, chang tsai-chien, chang ping-hua, chang ta-chih, chang chih-ming, chang yen-cheng, chang tsung-hsun, chang heng-yun, chang hung-chih, chang shu-chih, chang wei-min, chang fu-kuei, chang fu-heng, chang yi-hsiang, hsiao ching-kuang, tsen kuo-jung, sung pei-chang, chou hung-pao,

chou li-chin (f.), chou chun-lin, paojihletai (f.), tsung hsi-yun, lin li-yun (f.), lo ching-chang, lo hsi-kang, hsien heng-han, chin tsu-min, jao hsing-li, tuan chun-yi, chu chia-yao, chao tzu-yang, keng piao, keng chi-chang, chien chih-kuang, chien cheng-ying (f.), kuo yu-feng, kuo hung-chieh, hsu ching-hsien, hsia pang-yin, tang chi-shan, tang chung-fu, mo hsien-yao, chin chi-wei, tao lu-chia, chi peng-fei, huang hua, huang chen, wei feng-ying (f.), lu tien-chi, tsao li-huai, tsao yi-ou (f.), tsui hai-lung, liang chin-tang, han ying, han hsien-chu, tung ming-hui, fu chuan-tso, chiao lin-yi, tseng shao-shan, tseng ssu-yu, peng shao-hui, hsieh chia-hsiang, hsieh ching-yi (f.), lu jui-lin, hsieh hsueh-kung, tsai hsiao, tsai hsieh-pin, tsai shu-mei (f.), tan chi-lung, liao cheng-chih, pan shih-kao, fan teh-ling, wei ping-kuei, pu ku-hsiang, chilin wandan, ma ming, ma hsiao-liu, ma li-hsin, ma chin-hua (f.), teng hua, wang ti, wang chien, wang liu-sheng, wang kuang-lin, wang pai-teh, wang chih-chiang, wang mei-chi (f.), wang ching-sheng, wang teh-shan, wen hsiang-lan (f.), yeh fei, yang tsung (f.), shih shao-hua, li jih-nai, feng chan-wu, feng pin-teh, shen mao-kung, lu chung-yang, pai tung-tsai, chiang wei-ching, lu ho, lu tsun-chieh (f.), jen jung, ta leh, sun yu-kuo, liu hsi-yao, liu kuang-tao, liu chun-chiao, liu chen-hua, hsiang chung-hua, chu kuang-ya, chu ke-chia, ruzi turdi, juan po-sheng, hsiao ke, wu chung, wu tsung-shu, wu yu-teh, wu hsiang-pi, wu chin-chuan, yang kuei, yang ta-yi, yang po-lan (f.), yang chun-sheng, yang fu-chen (f.), chen yu-pao, chen tai-fu, chen ho-fa, chen chia-chung, chen pei-chen (f.), li hua-min, li shou-lin, li ting-shan, li tsu-ken, li yao-sung, chang ling-pin, chang huai-lien, chang shih-chung, chang chiang-lin, chang ying-tsai, chang lin-chih, chang kuo-chuan, chang ssu-chou, chang chi-hui, sung shuang-lai, sung ching-yu, sung shih-lun, lu chin-lung, wang chia-tao, wang hsiang-chun (f.), she chi-teh, cheng san-sheng, lin li-ming, lo chun-ti (f.), hu wei, hu liang-tsai, hu chin-ti (f.), chao feng, chao hsing-yuan, chao hsin-chu, yao yi-lin, hsu chih, tang liang, tang ke-pi (f.), tang wen-sheng (f.), tieh ying, janabil, chien hsueh-sen, kao shu-lan (f.), chu hui-fen (f.), kuo yao-ching, kang lin, kang chien-min, huang wen-ming, huang cheng-lien, huang tso-chen, huang chih-chen, huang ping-hsiu (f.), huang jung-hai, lung kuang-chien, tsui hsiu-fan, pan mei-ying (f.), peng chung, peng kuei-ho, lu ta-tung, chiang pao-ti (f.),

hsieh chia-tang, hsieh chen-hua, hsieh wang-chun (f.), liao chih-kao, pei chou-yu, li yuan, fan hsiao-chu (f.), hsueh chin-lien (f.), chang yao-tzu, mao yuan-hsin, li min (f.), li na (f.), liu yu-fa, wu pao-hua, lu ying, hsu chien-sheng, mo ai, hsieh li-fu, teng kang, li hsin, shih yi-chih, sha feng, chen shao-kun, chou tzu-chien, li chi-tai, li cheng-fang, pien chiang, wang yang, hsiao han, kang shih-en, kuo lu, chung fu-hsiang, chang ching-fu, fan tzu-yu, chen kuo-tung, wu ching-tung, chih chun, yang cheng-wu, liang pi-yeh, chang ting-fa, hsiang shou-chih, huang hsin-ting, tan shan-ho, wu ke-hua, yang jung-kuo, liu ta-chieh, chu yung-chia, feng tien-yu, feng yu-lan, chou yi-liang, wei chien-kung, hsia chen-huan, huang kun, kung chi-tao, hao liang, liu ching-tang, hao jan, wang kuei-chen (f.), tao shou-chi, tung chia-keng, liu chung-yang, chu yun-shan, shih liang (f.), hu yu-chih, sha chien-li, chi fang, huang ting-chen, chou pei-yuan, tien fu-ta, liu fei, tung chi-wu, tao chih-yueh, tu yu-ming, sung hsi-lien, huang wei.

毛泽东主席治丧委员会名单

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薛金莲（女）　张耀词　毛远新　李　敏（女）　李　讷（女）
刘友法　武葆华　鲁　瑛　许健生　莫　艾　解力夫　邓　岗　李　鑫
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肖　寒　康世恩　郭　鲁　钟夫翔　张劲夫　范子瑜　陈国栋　方　强
吴庆彤　迟　群　杨成武　梁必业　张廷发　向守志　黄新廷　谭善和
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宋希濂　黄　维

Announcement

by

Central Committee of Communist Party of China,
Standing Committee of National People's Congress
of People's Republic of China,
State Council of People's Republic of China, and
Military Commission of Central Committee of
Communist Party of China

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

to express the boundless respect and admiration and deepest mourning of the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country for our great leader chairman mao tsetung, it is hereby decided:

(1) mourning services will be held at the great hall of the people from september 11 to september 17. members and alternate members of the central committee of the communist party of china, leading members of the central party, government and army organizations and of various departments of peking municipality, and representatives of workers, peasants, soldiers and the masses of other circles will attend the mourning services to pay their respects to the remains of chairman mao lying in state.

members of all organizations, army units, factories, mines, enterprises, shops, people's communes, schools, neighbourhood communities and all other grass-roots units will hold memorial services in their own units.

(2) a solemn memorial rally will be held on tienanmen square at 3 p.m. peking time on september 18.

live transmissions of the memorial rally on tienanmen square will be carried by the central people's broadcasting station and the peking television station. all organizations, army units, factories, mines, enterprises, shops, people's communes, schools, neighbourhood communities and all other grass-roots units should make arrangements for the masses to listen to or watch the broadcasts and express their condolences.

all localities at or above the county level across the country should arrange meetings of representatives of workers, peasants, soldiers and other circles at 3 p.m. on september 18 to listen to the live transmission of the memorial rally in peking

before hearing memorial speeches delivered by the principal leading members of the local party, government and army organizations.

(3) from september 9 to september 18, the national flag will be flown at half-mast in mourning throughout the country and at the embassies, consulates and other organizations of china stationed abroad. in that period all recreational activities will be suspended.

(4) at three p.m. sharp on september 18, people in all organizations, army units, factories, mines, enterprises, shops, people's communes, schools and neighbourhood communities and all those moving outdoors, with the exception of those whose work cannot be interrupted, should stand at attention wherever they are in silent tribute for three minutes. at three p.m. sharp on september 18 all places and units with sirens, such as trains, ships, military vessels and factories, should sound their sirens for three minutes in mourning.

(5) to the governments, fraternal parties and friendly personages of foreign countries who want to come to china to take part in the mourning, the chinese embassies and consulates in these countries should express deep gratitude and inform them of the decision of the central committee of our party and the government of our country not to invite foreign governments, fraternal parties or friendly personages to send delegations or representatives to take part in the mourning in china. hence the announcement.

september 9, 1976.

Chairman Mao Will Live Forever in Our Hearts

Editorial by Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i
and Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

chairman mao tsetung, the great leader of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, has left us forever. the passing of chairman mao is a loss beyond measure to the chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. his death has plunged the eight hundred million sons and daughters of china into profound grief and is deeply mourned all over the five continents. words cannot possibly convey the sorrow that overwhelms us. chairman mao, the most esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher, will live forever in our hearts.

chairman mao tsetung was the founder of the communist party of china, the chinese people's liberation army and the people's republic of china; he was the greatest marxist of the contemporary era. for more than half a century the chinese people, under the banner of mao tsetung, fought on and won victory after victory. our party, our country and our people owe what they are today to chairman mao's wise leadership. the magnificent contributions he made to the chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world are immortal.

we will never forget that it was chairman mao who integrated the universal truth of marxism-leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution and formulated a marxist-leninist line for our party, and led the people of the whole country in waging hard and bitter struggles, defeating repeated interference and sabotage by opportunist and revisionist lines within the party, defeating vicious enemies at home and abroad and winning the complete victory of the new democratic revolution and great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the great proletarian cultural revolution. the history of the oppression and enslavement of the long-suffering chinese nation came to an end, and the chinese people took their destiny into

their own hands and made giant strides forward. the poor, backward and benighted old china has now been transformed into new socialist china full of vigour and with the beginnings of prosperity.

we will never forget that it was chairman mao who, with the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, led our party and the people of our country, together with marxist-leninist parties and organizations and revolutionary people throughout the world, in waging the great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, thereby bringing about the vigorous development of the international communist movement and the cause of the people of the world against imperialism and hegemonism. chairman mao made incisive analyses of the contemporary world situation, put forth a series of important strategic concepts, formulated a revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs for china, and enhanced the militant unity of the chinese people and the people of the whole world, especially the people of the third world, and pushed forward mankind's historical advance.

we will never forget that it was chairman mao who, in the course of protracted struggles against class enemies at home and abroad and inside and outside the party, summed up the practical experience of the proletariat and revolutionary masses in their revolutionary struggles, and inherited, defended and developed marxism-leninism. chairman mao made a contribution with his theory of the new democratic revolution; he made a particular contribution with his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby solving the major problem of the international communist movement, namely, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of the restoration of capitalism. chairman mao developed marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, greatly enriching the treasure-house of marxist theory.

chairman mao has left us forever, but mao tsetung thought will shine eternally, his revolutionary line has struck deep roots in the hearts of the people, and there are worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause which he pioneered in china. chairman mao adjured us: "(boldface begins) act according to the principles laid down (boldface ends)." while mourning the death of chairman mao with deep sorrow, we must turn grief into strength, always

follow his teachings, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, keep to the party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold proletarian internationalism, and carry the great cause of proletarian revolution through to the end.

to act according to the principles laid down means to act according to chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. "(boldface begins) the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything (boldface ends)." all our victories are victories of chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line. the entire history of our party shows: when our party carries out chairman mao's revolutionary line, it develops and the revolutionary cause wins victories; when our party goes against this line, it meets with setbacks and the revolutionary cause suffers defeats. so at all times and under all circumstances, we should firmly bear in mind this most important historical experience and unswervingly carry out chairman mao's revolutionary line and bravely defend it. throughout the period of socialism we must persevere in criticizing the bourgeoisie, repudiating revisionism, restricting bourgeois right and fighting against the capitalist-roaders in the party. at present, we must continue to deepen the struggle initiated by chairman mao to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. as long as we act according to chairman mao's line we shall be invincible.

in his lifetime, chairman mao time and again taught the whole party, especially its senior cadres, to "(boldface begins) read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of marxism (boldface ends)." if we are to faithfully carry out his behests, we must assiduously study works by marx, engels, lenin and stalin and by chairman mao. the great works of chairman mao are brilliant marxist-leninist documents; they are invaluable assets of the mind for the chinese people and the revolutionary people the world over and an inexhaustible source of strength for us. only by carefully studying works by marx, engels, lenin and stalin and by chairman mao can we become conscious proletarian fighters and uphold chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line better. the grasping of invincible mao tsetung thought by hundreds of millions of people

is the fundamental guarantee for combating and preventing revisionism and for winning continual victories for the proletarian revolutionary cause.

the communist party of china is a long-tested, mature marxist-leninist party, a party with rich experience in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines; it is the core of leadership of the entire chinese people. we should rally very closely round the party central committee to which the entire party is subordinate, resolutely uphold the unity and unification of the party, and consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities which is under the leadership of the working class and is based on the worker-peasant alliance. we should exert greater efforts in building the party ideologically and organizationally in accordance with chairman mao's theory on party building. we should give full play to the party's fine style of work fostered by chairman mao. we should strengthen the centralized leadership of the party, take class struggle as the key link, make the criticism of teng hsiao-ping a motive force, grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war and advance socialist undertakings in all fields.

we have a great, glorious and correct party founded and nurtured by chairman mao himself. we have an invincible people's army created by chairman mao himself. we are a heroic people armed with marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought. we must never fail to carry out what our great leader chairman mao taught us throughout the years, and we can surely overcome any difficulty and always advance courageously along the revolutionary course charted by chairman mao. we are fully confident that the cause of communism will triumph. "(boldface begins) our goal must be attained (boldface ends)." "(boldface begins) our goal can certainly be attained (boldface ends)."

eternal glory to the great leader and teacher chairman mao tsetung excl.

Mao Tsetung Thought Will Forever Guide Us Forward

by

Ch'ih Heng (池恒)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities throughout our country, and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, has passed away. His death has plunged the people of our country and the world's revolutionary people into deepest grief; words cannot possibly express their boundless love and memory for him. The revolutionary cause that Chairman Mao dedicated himself to and his brilliant thought represent the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the other working people and stir the hearts of hundreds of millions of revolutionary people. Chairman Mao has left us, but his magnificent contributions are immortal. He will live in our memory forever and Mao Tsetung Thought will forever guide us forward victoriously.

Communist Party members, workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, holding Chairman Mao's brilliant works and instructions with tears in their eyes and restudying his teachings, have, in the days of profound sorrow over his death, redoubled their efforts in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This is the best way to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and to honor his memory. The grasping of invincible Mao Tsetung Thought by the revolutionary people in their hundreds of millions is the fundamental guarantee that we will forever adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and carry the great proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. In the past half a century and more, basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, he inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the protracted struggle against class enemies at home and abroad, both inside and outside the Party, wrote many brilliant works, gave many important instructions and made extremely important contributions in developing Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, thus greatly enriching the treasure-house of Marxist theory. Chairman Mao's works and instructions are an encyclopaedia of Marxism. Chairman Mao applied dialectical materialism and historical materialism to the revolutionary practice of the proletariat in changing the world and to political science, economics, military affairs, history, literature and art, natural sciences and other fields; he scientifically summarized historical legacies and made many new important contributions. Mao Tsetung Thought is the direct continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism. It has not only become the invincible ideological weapon of the Chinese people but also the guide to action in the struggle for liberation of the proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over.

While leading the Chinese people in waging long, hard and bitter revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars, Chairman Mao contributed the theory of the new-democratic revolution. Applying Marxism-Leninism, he

studied the law of the development of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, analyzed the targets, tasks, motive forces, character, perspectives and transformation of the new-democratic revolution, correctly formulated the general line and general policy for the new-democratic revolution, and clearly indicated that the seizure of political power by armed force in China could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities. Chairman Mao's thesis that Party building, armed struggle and the united front are the three principal magic weapons for winning the victory of the revolution, his concepts of people's war and the complete set of strategic and tactical principles he formulated are all important developments of Marxist revolutionary theory, which have blazed a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people. The many brilliant works Chairman Mao wrote in the period of the democratic revolution are not only a fundamental guide for that revolution but are of tremendous significance in directing our present-day revolutionary struggles.

In the period of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao put forward the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a contribution of epoch-making significance. What are the principal contradictions in society after the seizure of political power by the proletariat, especially after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production? Are there still classes and class struggle? Is it still necessary to carry on the revolution? Against whom should the revolution be directed? In what way should the revolution be waged? Whether this series of important problems can be correctly solved is related to the future and destiny of the proletarian revolutionary cause. Comprehensively summing up both the positive and the negative experience of the international communist movement, applying the theory of the law of the unity of opposites and penetratingly analyzing the class relations in socialist society, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism that in socialist society, which covers a considerably long historical period, there exist throughout classes, class contradictions and class struggle, that the principal contradiction at home is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, mainly the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and that the principal danger lies in revisionism. He also drew the scientific conclusion that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party. Chairman Mao established the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and specified the task of persevering in socialist revolution and exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the economic base and every sphere of the superstructure. Chairman Mao analyzed the factors that engender capitalism and bourgeoisie in socialist society and pointed out that we ourselves had built just such a bourgeois state without capitalists, which practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money and in all this differs very little from the old society, and that under the dictatorship of the proletariat bourgeois rights can only be restricted. Upholding materialist dialectics, Chairman Mao made an all-round analysis of the two different types of contradictions that exist in socialist society--those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. He thoroughly repudiated

the erroneous views which negate contradictions and struggle and negate revolution, and repeatedly admonished us to establish the strategic concept of waging a protracted struggle against the bourgeoisie. In order to defeat the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeoisie inside the Party, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led such great struggles as the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts. Chairman Mao taught us that we must uphold the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, gave many important directives for accelerating socialist construction in China and waged a resolute struggle against the revisionist line. Chairman Mao constantly summed up the rich experience of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in their practical struggles and elevated it into scientific theory and policies, formulated a series of wise policy decisions on combating and preventing revisionism, supported and fostered many new socialist things containing communist elements and solved many important questions concerning the theory, principles and policies for insuring the triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in all spheres and on all fronts. Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has illuminated like a radiant beacon the road for the proletariat to continue its victorious advance after its seizure of political power. This is a priceless treasure which we must study conscientiously, carry on faithfully and defend courageously.

Chairman Mao developed Lenin's theory on imperialism and made an incisive analysis of the nature of imperialism and social-imperialism and of the whole international situation, and set out a series of strategies and tactics to oppose imperialism, hegemonism and revisionism. Chairman Mao's brilliant theses that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that the revisionist Soviet Union is also a paper tiger; his important concepts that strategically we must despise all enemies, but tactically take them seriously; his penetrating analysis of the historical lesson of the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union; his great strategic thinking on the division of the "three worlds"; his famous thesis that the weak nations can defeat the strong and the small nations can defeat the big; and his teachings that our country will never seek hegemony and never be a super-power and that the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated--all these are of great immediate importance and profound historic significance, and they are the powerful ideological weapon with which we uphold proletarian internationalism, adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and, along with the revolutionary people the world over, carry on the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism.

The fighting course of the Chinese revolution over the past 50 years and more eloquently proves that Mao Tsetung Thought is the source of all our victories. The most important thing for us in the protracted revolutionary struggles of the future is to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and exert ourselves to carry on the most valuable Marxist

theoretical treasure which Chairman Mao has left us, in order to persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, continue to advance along the socialist road in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao and struggle for the realization of communism.

Chairman Mao adjured us to "act according to the principles laid down" which means to act according to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. Theory is the ideological basis of a line. Only by studying Chairman Mao's works and directives conscientiously can we deeply understand, firmly carry out and courageously defend his revolutionary line. A clear understanding of theory is a prerequisite to conscious action. Without seriously studying Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, without understanding the character, target, tasks and prospects of the socialist revolution, without knowing where the bourgeoisie is, without noting that capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road and without understanding why all-round dictatorship must be exercised over the bourgeoisie, we are bound to lose our bearings politically, nor can we implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line perseveringly. We must consciously arm ourselves with Mao Tsetung Thought so that we will be clear-sighted and steadfast, maintain a clear-cut stand and always adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the protracted, complex and acute class struggle and the struggles between the two lines.

Chairman Mao's works and directives summed up the experience of our Party, our army and the people of our country in prolonged struggles against class enemies at home and abroad, inside and outside the Party. Particularly, his many writings and important instructions in the period of the socialist revolution focused the fire on a direct criticism of modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. In order to persevere in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism for long periods to come, we must continue to study assiduously works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works. A salient feature of revisionism is that it dons the cloak of "Marxism" to oppose Marxism. This applies without exception to Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and the three big poisonous weeds, including "On the General Program," produced on his instructions, are precisely examples of waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag. If we do not seriously read and study to master the weapon of criticism, we are likely to be deceived by the false impressions created in these poisonous weeds dressed up with Marxist-Leninist phrases and fail to see through their reactionary essence. In the course of the two-line struggles, Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us to read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism. Experience shows that when the cadres and masses have read and studied conscientiously and grasped Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of struggle, they are able to see through revisionism, whatever cloak it dons, and they have the courage, the confidence and the ability to combat revisionism and the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Weren't there a large number of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, Liberation Army fighters, young students and grassroots cadres who did rise against and criticize the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" last year when Teng Hsiao-p'ing blew up a strong right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts? They were able to see through

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and dared to fight it precisely because they had conscientiously studied Mao Tsetung Thought.

The grasping of invincible Mao Tsetung Thought by hundreds of millions of people is a way of creating a true bastion of iron for combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao had the greatest faith in the masses, consistently pinned his hope on the people and always stressed acquainting the masses with the theory, line and policies. Once it grips the masses, Marxist theory becomes an all-conquering colossal force. Since the advent of the great proletarian cultural revolution /in 1966/, it is precisely because Chairman Mao's brilliant thought and teachings have been directly grasped by hundreds of millions of revolutionary people, greatly encouraging their fighting will and welding it into an irresistible revolutionary torrent that they have rapidly smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, routed the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and promptly crushed the counter-revolutionary political incident staged on Tienanmen Square under the sinister banner of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. We are convinced that provided we develop extensively and intensively the mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and further arm the people with revolutionary theory, we will surely be able to constantly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and steadily win new victories in the fight against the bourgeoisie. In the current great struggle to deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, we must continue to make an assiduous study of Chairman Mao's important instructions, grasp the crux of the matter in so far as ideological and political line is concerned, and penetratingly criticize the three big poisonous weeds, "On the General Program," "Outline Report" and "Regulations" concocted on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instructions. We should through this struggle further strengthen our consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and raise our Marxist ideological level.

The revolutionary road ahead of us is still very long and the fighting tasks are still great and arduous, but "the important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open, the way has been shown." ("Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution" Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, p. 570) Chairman Mao has left us invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and his proletarian revolutionary line. So long as our Party, our army and the people throughout our country closely rally round the Party Central Committee, redouble our efforts in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and unswervingly march forward in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao, we will surely overcome all difficulties, defeat all enemies and carry through to the end the cause of the proletarian revolution in China which Chairman Mao pioneered.

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Chairman Mao will live forever in our hearts!

* * *

Turn Grief into Strength

by

Ch'i Yung-hung (齐永红)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

Chairman Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era, the great leader of our Party, our army and the people of all the nationalities of our country and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, has passed away. The army and people in their hundreds of millions throughout the country, with profound proletarian feelings, have most painfully held extensive mourning activities to express their boundless esteem and great sorrow for the great leader Chairman Mao.

The nationwide mourning has evoked a tremendous force among the armymen and people in their hundreds of millions; their strong determination to carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause which Chairman Mao initiated is being translated into concrete action. Despite their deep sense of loss, workers are sticking to their posts, criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, promoting production and setting new production records. With tears in their eyes, the poor and lower-middle peasants vow to hold still higher the red banner of the people's commune that Chairman Mao raised and to keep on consolidating the socialist positions in the countryside. Sorrow in their hearts, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and the vast militia pledge to defy death in defense of the Party Central Committee and the dictatorship of the proletariat of our great motherland, strengthen preparedness against war, be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to intrude, and liberate Taiwan. With tears in their eyes, educated young people who have settled in the countryside declare that they will strike root in the rural areas, work there all their lives and unswervingly press ahead along the road of integrating with the workers and peasants that Chairman Mao indicated. With tears in their eyes, revolutionary intellectuals express the determination to remold their world outlook and carry through to the end the socialist revolution in literature and art, education, medical and health work and other spheres of the superstructure. People on all fronts in the country are making new efforts to study Chairman Mao's works and implement his instructions. All this is convincing proof that the Chinese people, nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, stand rock-firm at this time of bereavement.

In deeply mourning the passing of Chairman Mao, we must resolutely respond to the call of the Party Central Committee, turn grief into strength, carry out Chairman Mao's behests, and persevere in carrying on the proletarian revolution that Chairman Mao pioneered and dedicated his whole life to.

Turning grief into strength, we must intensify our study. Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, the growth of all living things depends on the sun, and making revolution depends on Mao Tsetung Thought. This is a truth which the Chinese people have come to understand deeply through prolonged revolutionary practice. In the past half a century and more,

Chairman Mao, integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution and in the course of protracted struggles against class enemies inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, contributed to Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, and thus greatly enriched the treasure house of Marxist theory. Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, in particular, solved the major problem in the international communist movement of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration; its contributions to our proletarian revolution are beyond measure. Chairman Mao's writings and instructions are all brilliant Marxist works; they are a most valuable asset of the mind and an inexhaustible source of strength for the revolutionary people. Although Chairman Mao has left us forever, his teachings and the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought are immortal. We must "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism," and apply ourselves to the study of works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works in the light of the practice of revolutionary struggle. Once grasped by the hundreds of millions of people, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will produce a colossal material force. In order to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, every revolutionary cadre, Party member and revolutionary people must redouble efforts at study in these days of painfully mourning Chairman Mao's death, and always take his teachings as our guide to action.

Turning grief into strength, we must fight still more resolutely to carry out and defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." This is a truth that has been repeatedly confirmed by the revolution waged over more than 50 years by the Chinese people led by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao comprehensively summed up the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement and formulated a Marxist Leninist line for our Party. All our victories are victories of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The entire history of our Party shows that his proletarian revolutionary line is the lifeline of our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities of our country. Although Chairman Mao has left us forever, his proletarian revolutionary line is immortal. Like a radiant beacon light, it forever illuminates the road of our triumphant advance. Chairman Mao adjured us: "Act according to the principles laid down." We should never forget this and resolutely act according to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. In these days of painfully mourning Chairman Mao's passing, every revolutionary cadre, Party member and revolutionary people must firmly establish this faith: as long as we conscientiously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will have inexhaustible strength and our cause will be victorious. At all times and under all circumstances, we should conscientiously uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, defy death in defending it, wage tireless, long-term struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party who try to change the Party's basic line, and persevere to the very end in the great struggle led by Chairman Mao for so long to combat and prevent revisionism.

Turning grief into strength, we must strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and firmly safeguard the unity and unification of the Party. As Chairman Mao's idea of strengthening Party unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism has captivated people's hearts, the opportunist chieftains inside our Party failed in their many attempts to divide it. Every major struggle between the two lines made our Party more strongly united on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. At present, the Party, the government, the army, mass organizations and cultural and educational institutions, from one end of the country to the other, must rally still more closely around the Party Central Committee, obey its leadership, follow its directions and wage resolute struggle against all sabotage and divisive activities and conspiratorial schemes of class enemies both at home and abroad.

Turning grief into strength, we must continue to deepen the movement to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line is a continuation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, with its spearhead directed against Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line. To criticize Teng is to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The Right deviationist wind stirred up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing was aimed at reversing the decisions of the great cultural revolution, settling the old scores with it and trying to wholly negate the great proletarian cultural revolution that Chairman Mao personally initiated and led. To criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing is to defend and consolidate the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The three big poisonous weeds--"On the General Program," "Outline Report" and "Regulations"--dished out on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instructions, focalize the ultra-Rightist essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the reactionary world outlook of the inner-Party bourgeoisie like Teng Hsiao-p'ing. To criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing is to grasp these three big poisonous weeds and give full play to the role of Teng Hsiao-p'ing as a teacher by negative example in enabling cadres, Party members and the masses to distinguish between right and wrong in line and to increase their ability to tell genuine Marxism from sham. We must use as our compass the important instructions Chairman Mao gave on the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt, give full play to the revolutionary spirit: "With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe," eliminate the pernicious influence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and see that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is further implemented in all fields of endeavour throughout the country. We must use the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing as a motive force, take class struggle as the key link, grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war and push all socialist undertakings forward.

Turning grief into strength means that we should follow the glorious example set by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, strive to become his good students and temper ourselves in violent storms into resolute proletarian revolutionary fighters. The life of Chairman Mao was that of a thoroughgoing revolutionary. He dedicated all his energies till his last breath to the liberation of the Chinese people, to the emancipation of oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over and to the most magnificent communist cause of mankind. While mourning Chairman Mao's passing, we must conscientiously learn from the great revolutionary practice of Chairman Mao which continued throughout his glorious life, act according to

Chairman Mao's teachings, serve the interests of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world heart and soul and dedicate our lives to the realization of communism; acting on Chairman Mao's teachings, we must have confidence in the masses, rely on them and respect their creative spirit; acting on Chairman Mao's teachings, we must warmly support new emerging socialist things, encourage the growth of newly emerging forces, consciously restrict bourgeois rights, and consolidate and develop the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution; acting on Chairman Mao's teachings, we must be thoroughgoing revolutionaries all our lives and carry forward the heroic spirit that "our force is irresistible, away with all pests;" acting on Chairman Mao's teachings, we must dare to go against the tide, "let the wind blow and waves beat, better far than idly strolling in a courtyard," and, within the country, wage unremitting struggles against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party represented by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and, internationally, wage resolute struggles against superpowers' hegemonism and against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core; acting on Chairman Mao's teachings, we must observe and deal with all problems with the world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and struggle against idealism and metaphysics of all stripes. The rain and dew nourish and strengthen the seedlings, and the sunlight, rain and dew of Mao Tsetung Thought will certainly bring up one generation of proletarian revolutionary fighters after another.

Turning grief into strength is a manifestation of the full confidence that we communists have in the revolutionary cause pioneered by our great leader and teacher. When the great revolutionary teacher Marx died on March 14, 1883, Engels grieved profoundly because that most powerful heart had ceased to beat. Yet Engels did not lose faith because Marx had passed away. He turned his grief into strength, continued the cause of Marx and said: "We are far from losing courage because of it." He was convinced that "the final victory remains certain." ("To F.A. Sorge," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 35, p. 460) After both Marx and Engels died and after the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International, the proletarian revolutionary cause did not cease; on the contrary, it developed by leaps and bounds throughout the world; the beacon light of Marxism, rather than being extinguished, shone with greater radiance over the whole world. Under the influence of the October Revolution, the Chinese proletariat found Marxism-Leninism and established the Chinese Communist Party. Chairman Mao integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and led our Party in its continuous growth in the course of class struggle and two-line struggle. Our Party consisted of only a few dozen members when it was founded. Under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and in 55 years of struggle, it has become a Marxist-Leninist party with more than 30 million members, leading 800 million people, possessing extremely rich experience in struggle. The development of our Party from small to big, from weak to strong and from leading the new-democratic revolution to leading the socialist revolution has been a process of persisting in the use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to educate the whole Party and the people of the whole country. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, in particular, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been spread on a scale without precedent, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has struck deep roots in the hearts of the people and millions upon millions of successors to the proletarian

revolutionary cause have been nurtured. Our Party and the cause it leads have great prospects. Communists will always press forward and the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao is certain to win even greater victories.

"While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns." Chairman Mao often educated us with these words and urged us to be prepared to go through the twists and turns to win a bright future. The proletariat will surely triumph over the bourgeoisie, socialism over capitalism, Marxism over revisionism, and communism will definitely be realized. This is an inexorable general trend of historical development. In the days of painfully mourning the passing of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, we must turn our profound grief into gigantic strength, carry out Chairman Mao's behests, and forge ahead along the path indicated by Chairman Mao. We must be resolute, fear no sacrifice, surmount every difficulty and strive for ultimate realization of communism!

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Grasp the Weapon of Revolutionary Mass Criticism and Continue the Fight

by

Mass Criticism Groups of Peking and Tsinghua Universities

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, our most esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher and the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era, has passed away. No words can express our deepest sorrow at his death and our profound memory of him. Chairman Mao will live forever in our hearts, and the radiant Mao Tse-tung Thought will light up the road of advancement for the proletariat and revolutionary people for generations to come. We must respond to the call of the Party Central Committee, turn our grief into strength and carry out Chairman Mao's behests. We must take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, grasp the weapon of revolutionary mass criticism, continue the fight, and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

Chairman Mao consistently attached major importance to revolutionary mass criticism, pointing out explicitly: "An important task on the ideological front at the moment is to unfold criticism of revisionism." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") Moreover, he called on all workers, peasants, commercial workers, students, soldiers and Party and government functionaries to take part in "criticizing the bourgeoisie." Chairman Mao's teachings pointed out the direction for the socialist revolution on the ideological and political front.

For 27 years since the founding of the People's Republic, Chairman Mao not only admonished us to grasp class struggle in the ideological sphere, but also personally initiated and led one revolutionary mass criticism after another. In 1951, shortly after the birth of new China, Chairman Mao initiated and led the criticism of the reactionary film "The Life of Wu Hsün." From criticism of bourgeois idealism and Hu Shih's reactionary thinking in Study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" in 1954 to the criticism of the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique in 1955; from the criticism of the bourgeois rightists in 1957 to the criticism of Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois idealism and metaphysics and of his control of literary and art departments since 1962--all these were Chairman Mao's great practice in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism in the ideological sphere. Through this series of major struggles, powerful blows were dealt to the attacks by the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere, the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened, and the development of socialist revolution and construction was enhanced.

The great proletarian cultural revolution started and led by Chairman Mao is a great political revolution by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Beginning with the criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office and the representatives of the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao directed the spearhead at Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters, thus raising the

curtain on this great political revolution. Chairman Mao called on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country to hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeois reactionary stand of the anti-Party and anti-socialist "academic authorities," to criticize bourgeois reactionary ideas in the academic, educational, journalistic, literary and art and publishing circles, and to criticize the bourgeois representatives who sneaked into the Party. This revolutionary mass criticism movement was unprecedented in both scale and scope in the history of our country. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, hundreds of millions of people participated in the great practice of combating and preventing revisionism, charging toward the broad battlefield of revolutionary mass criticism armed with pens used as rifles. Like violent billows on the high sea, revolutionary big-character posters and criticism meetings swept away the filth of the old society, deprived class enemies of their hiding place, completely smashed the schemes of the inner-Party bourgeoisie including Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing to usurp power and restore the old order, and criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its major ideological source, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Chairman Mao infused revolutionary mass criticism into the great proletarian cultural revolution from first to last, so that the criticism of the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the criticism of the revisionist line became a popular, deep-going and sustained mass movement, providing the fundamental guarantee for our Party and state to continue their triumphant advance along the Marxist-Leninist line.

At a time when the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique turned the Soviet Communist Party founded by Lenin into a revisionist and fascist party and the international communist movement was at a critical moment of "clouds gathering and current flowing rapidly," Chairman Mao, with the indomitable spirit of a proletarian revolutionary, initiated the great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, thus greatly boosting the morale of the international proletariat and revolutionary people and deflating the arrogance of the modern revisionists. This great struggle, initiated by Chairman Mao, pointed out to the people of China and of the whole world the direction in which to persevere in the proletarian revolution and uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthened the unity of all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations the world over, promoted the vigorous development of the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat and the anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonic cause of the people of all countries, especially of the Third World countries, and pushed the history of mankind forward.

Restudying and reviewing the brilliant teachings and great practice of Chairman Mao in persistently criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism particularly warms our hearts and greatly inspires and encourages us. We see more clearly that revolutionary mass criticism is an important weapon for the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie and for Marxism over revisionism. Under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, the inner-Party bourgeoisie may also resort to the tactics of counter-revolutionary armed coup and counter-revolutionary violence, but the chief tactic is to wave the red flag to oppose the red flag and to subvert proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism through changing the Party's Marxist-Leninist line. To start a counter-revolutionary coup or counter-revolutionary violence, they must also

prepare counter-revolutionary public opinion in the first place. As Chairman Mao summed up, "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to creat public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." If we are to discern the features of phoney Marxists like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing,expose the revisionist line they push and smash their counter-revolutionary public opinion including counter-revolutionary rumors, we must unfold revolutionary mass criticism, and the weapon of criticism thus appears especially important. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao called on us to bombard Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters. By "bombarding," it meant carrying out revolutionary mass criticism--using the machine-guns and mortar of Marxism to fire at the capitalist roaders. Lenin pointed out: "The deeper the revolution digs at the old site, the more difficult it will be to restore the old order." ("The Agrarian Program of the Social-Democracy in the First Revolution in Russia," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 13, p. 304) The role of revolutionary mass criticism is seen precisely in its continuing to remove the old soil of capitalism so that it becomes increasingly difficult for the bourgeoisie in the Party to carry through its plot to restore the old system.

To build a new world, the proletariat must criticize the old world. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The birth of a new social system is invariably accompanied by a battle of words to publicize the superiority of the new system and criticize the backwardness of the old." ("Introduction Note to 'A Good Experience in Consolidating Cooperatives'") The socialist revolution leads to great social changes from the economic base to the superstructure and to the continuous emergence of new things. On the other hand, all decadent ideologies and the incompatible parts of the superstructure seriously hamper the consolidation and development of the new social system. And the inner-Party bourgeoisie all the more seeks to defame, attack and strangle new socialist things. Revolutionary mass criticism is intended to sweep away these obstacles and encourage the growth of new socialist things. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, new socialist things have sprung up like spring bamboo shoots after rain, effectively restricting bourgeois rights; they possess communist elements. They are the products of the criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and they have grown in the violent struggle with the capitalist roaders. Practice proves that revolutionary mass criticism is an indispensable weapon for us to destroy the old capitalist system and old things and to safeguard the new socialist system and new things.

As Marxism has developed in the course of the struggle to criticize opportunism and revisionism, we must combine the study of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works with the criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Chairman Mao pointed out: "There can be no differentiation without comparison." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") Only through revolutionary mass criticism can we distinguish between Marxism and revisionism, between socialism and capitalism, between materialism and idealism and between dialectics and metaphysics, so that we may raise our awareness of class and line struggles and increase our ability to tell genuine Marxism from sham. We must understand the dialectics that "there is no construction without destruction." If we separate the study of Marxism from revolutionary mass criticism, we shall not be able to really grasp the spirit and substance of Marxism. Thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been popularized across our country as never

before, and hundreds of millions of people have greatly raised their awareness of the ideological and political line. Isn't this a great achievement in following Chairman Mao's teaching "unfold criticism of revisonism"?

At present, we must continue to deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. This is a major struggle to criticize the bourgeoisie in the Party. After resuming work, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, did his utmost to push the revisionist line and oppose revolutionary mass criticism. He forbade criticism of the theory of productive forces and bourgeois rights. He went all out to sabotage the mass movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to discuss and criticize Water Margin. He maliciously accused the revolutionary activities of the masses to study Marxism and criticize revisionism since the cultural revolution of being "unprofessional," and attempted to "do away with them without exception." The fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing so much hated and feared revolutionary mass criticism shows by negative example that revolutionary mass criticism has hit the bourgeoisie in the Party where it hurts most. We must act on the principles laid down by Chairman Mao, grasp the crucial point of the revisionist ideological and political line, and in light of the actual conditions of the class and line struggles on all fronts, continue to criticize the three big poisonous weeds--"On the general program," "Outline Report" and the "Regulations" dished out on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instructions. We must carry through to the end the struggle to penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Internationally, we must persevere in criticizing modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core and carry the great struggle against revisionism through to the end.

Revolutionary mass criticism, with criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism as its main content, is not a short fight which lasts only a few rounds, but a broad, popular and long-term strategic task.

The ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and revisionism pervades all fronts and spheres in society. To enforce all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture, the proletariat must carry out in-depth revolutionary mass criticism on all fronts and in all spheres. Numerous facts since the start of the great cultural revolution prove that on those fronts and in those spheres and departments where revolutionary mass criticism has been conducted with success, the influence of the revisionist line and the traditional ideas of the exploiting classes are resisted and criticized, the ideological and political line is relatively correct, both revolution and production are undertaken vigorously and continue to progress. For a long time, the struggle led by Chairman Mao to criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism had consistently been carried out in a wide scope and on a broad front. Only by continuing to do so can we apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to dominate various spheres including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and jurisprudence and sweep away the garbage of the bourgeoisie and revisionism from all corners.

The workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants always want revolution and progress; they will never stop. Revolutionary struggles by the masses of people constitute a strong motive force for the development of history, and the workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism. To boldly arouse the masses to develop revolutionary mass criticism is an idea Chairman Mao consistently impressed on us. According to Chairman Mao's teaching, "a line or a viewpoint must be discussed constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain it only to a few people; it must be made known to the revolutionary masses," we must arouse the masses more extensively and bring into fuller play the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force. With hundreds of millions of people plunging into revolutionary mass criticism, a great force is generated that stuns the capitalist roaders inside the Party and all class enemies.

Throughout the historical period of socialism there are classes and class struggle, and "the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." This will be a prolonged historical phenomenon. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has collapsed, but the struggle has not yet ended. To criticize an erroneous line by fighting only a few rounds is not enough. Chairman Mao pointed out with foresight that a hundred years or even a thousand years from now there will be need for revolution and there will be contradictions ten thousand years from now. "Without struggle, there will be no progress." We must remember Chairman Mao's teachings, set up the concept of protracted war, and regard the victory of each round as the starting point of a new struggle. Under no circumstances must we relax our fighting will, and we must persist in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is invincible. The communist cause Chairman Mao dedicated his whole life to will forever preserve its splendid youth. We must carry out Chairman Mao's behests, and in the great struggle to criticize the old world and build the new world, fight hard and unyieldingly, pass the great Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought from generation to generation, and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao through to the end!

* * *

Resolutely Uphold Party Unity and Unification

by

Yen Feng (燕 枫)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

Our most esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher Chairman Mao has left us forever. The whole Party, the whole Army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are immersed in boundless sorrow. We must turn our grief into strength, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party's basic line, and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must persist in proletarian internationalism, resolutely uphold Party unity and unification, rally closely around the Party Central Committee, and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

Our Party is a Marxist-Leninist political party founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao. Under his wise and correct leadership and the guidance of his proletarian revolutionary line, our Party led the people of the whole country to overthrow, through hard and brilliant struggle, the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism which lay like a dead weight on the Chinese people. The semi-colonial, semi-feudal old China was turned into the socialist new China. In the struggle for socialist revolution and construction, in spite of imperialist blockades and embargoes, sabotages by social-imperialism and frenzied attacks by the bourgeoisie at home, the Party bourgeoisie in particular, our proletarian dictatorship has become more and more consolidated and our country has grown stronger and stronger. This is because of the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party acting as the mid-stream rock of the Chinese people. The plots of class enemies at home and abroad to restore capitalism in China have gone bankrupt one after another. Particularly through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts, we have smashed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, heightened the ability of the whole Party, the whole Army and the people of the whole country to discern revisionism, and greatly raised the consciousness of the people in carrying out and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Because people have acquired a more concrete understanding of the despicable means used by the revisionists in creating splits and engineering conspiracies and intrigues, they have gained a deeper insight into the importance of safeguarding Party unity. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party is now more united, more consolidated and stronger than it ever was. This insures that our proletarian revolutionary cause will advance from victory to victory. "This Party of ours has a bright future." And the people of the whole country and the revolutionary people the world over also pin infinite hopes on our Party. To build up this Party of ours, Chairman Mao waged numerous struggles and expended lots of energy! In a "Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country," the Party Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee appeal to

us: "We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party, resolutely uphold the unity and unification of the Party and closely rally around the Party Central Committee. We must strengthen the building of the Party ideologically and organizationally in the course of the struggle between the two lines and resolutely implement the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young in accordance with the five requirements for bringing up successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution." We must respond to this call and build our Party with better results in accordance with the needs of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, summing up the experiences of our Party's two-line struggles, set forth the three fundamental principles "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." These are the beacon light for Party building, a powerful ideological weapon with which to assure Party unity and unification. We must never forget this teaching of Chairman Mao's. To practice Marxism and wholeheartedly work for the well-being of the majority of people in China and the world over, we must unite and be open and aboveboard; to practice revisionism and serve a minority of the exploiting classes, we will inevitably practice splits and intrigue and conspire. Because the revisionists have no truth and no masses around them, to subvert proletarian dictatorship, they must rely on creating splits and practice intrigues--including rumors and slander--to undermine Party unity. Therefore, to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry through to the end the revolutionary cause of the proletariat pioneered by Chairman Mao, we must take class struggle as the key link, strengthen Party unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and wage resolute struggles against all tendencies toward practicing revisionism, splits and conspiracies.

To uphold Party unity and unification is a guarantee for the victorious conduct of the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and for exercising all-round dictatorship over the latter. The fighting goal of Communists is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and the ultimate realization of communism. To attain this grand goal, we must continue to deepen the socialist revolution in the economic base and the superstructure in order to gradually create the conditions making it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to arise anew. By so doing, we are bound to meet with resistance from the bourgeoisie, the Party bourgeoisie in particular. Since the Party bourgeoisie cannot openly overthrow the basic line of the Party, to attain their revisionist aims, they have no alternative but to undermine Party unity and strike at all Communists and revolutionary people who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary lines, doing so by divisive and conspiratorial means. Also, imperialism and social-imperialism always try to seek an opportunity to undermine our Party's unity and carry out subversive activities through the bourgeoisie inside our Party. To effectively fight against the bourgeoisie, the Party bourgeoisie in particular, to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must resolutely uphold the unity and unification of the Party and smash all their attempts at undermining unity.

In the history of our Party, whether to promote unity or splits has all along been an important issue for its internal two-line struggles. This issue has never been an isolated one, but has always been linked closely with the Party's political line. From Ch'en Tu-shiu, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-t'ao in the democratic revolution period to Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the socialist revolution period, these chieftains of opportunist and revisionist lines all used an erroneous line to counter Chairman Mao's correct line and vainly attempted to divide the Party and disrupt the unity of the Party and revolutionary ranks so as to attain their criminal aim of radically disintegrating the revolutionary forces and leading the revolutionary cause to failure. Our Party has developed, expanded and arrived at unprecedented unity precisely in the struggle against their opportunist and revisionist lines. Chairman Mao taught us: "What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." If Chairman Mao's correct line had not been grasped by the whole Party and without the victories of the two-line struggle or Chairman Mao's correct policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," it would have been impossible to have the solid unity of the whole Party. Chairman Mao also pointed out: "What is meant by unity? Naturally it means unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, not unity without principle." These admonitions we must firmly bear in mind at all times. Revisionism is the political and ideological source of splittism, and splittism is the organizational expression of revisionism. As long as revisionism exists, the danger of splits exists. The Party bourgeoisie is the root-cause of undermining Party unity and unification. Therefore, to uphold Party unity and unification, we must unswervingly fight against the Party bourgeoisie and revisionism. The experience of the two-line struggle within the Party over the past decades shows that the people, the Party and Party members do not approve of splits. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao's correct line, we frustrated every scheme of the chieftains of opportunist and revisionist lines to split our Party. In the future, whoever wants to practice revisionism and undermine the unity and unification of our Party will be resisted by the more than 30 million Chinese Communists and the 800 million Chinese people who have been taught by Chairman Mao for a long time and are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought.

At present, we must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's works and important instructions and continue to deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing is an old hand in creating splits inside the Party. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, he ganged up with Liu Shao-ch'i in pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and undermining Party unity and unification. After he resumed work, he became more ruthless in pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. He dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," ordered the production of three big poisonous weeds--"On the General Program," "Outline Report" and "Regulations," vigorously whipped up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and engaged in verdict reversing and restorationist activities on a large scale. He even went so far as to spearhead the attack at the great leader Chairman Mao. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line is a line of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism, an out-and-out

splittist line. The great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, has smashed Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fond dream of capitalist restoration and effectively upheld Party unity and unification. But the struggle is by no means over. The pernicious influence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line is far from being completely eradicated. The Party bourgeoisie and a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists have not completely abandoned their illusions about Teng Hsiao-p'ing. They will stir up trouble at the first opportunity. We must continue to deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts, and thoroughly liquidate Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line both ideologically and politically. As to the counter-revolutionary activities by a handful of class enemies to spread rumors in a bid to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism, strong blows must be dealt to them. In the entire historical period of socialism, our struggle against the Party bourgeoisie and revisionism is both protracted and devious. In a talk during his inspection tour of various localities from August to September 1971, Chairman Mao said: "We have been singing the Internationale for fifty years, yet on ten occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another ten, twenty or thirty such times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do." We must mentally be prepared for a protracted fight, and must not lower our guard nor slacken our fighting will. We must carry through to the end the great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts. This struggle is to be used as a vehicle to raise the awareness of class and line struggles on the part of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, to enhance our fighting capability to combat and prevent revisionism, to promote revolutionary unity, to consolidate and develop the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In these painful days of mourning the passing of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have one after another expressed their determination to rally closely around the Party Central Committee and to obey its command in all actions. This amply speaks for the trust placed by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in the Party Central Committee as well as fully showing their awareness of the utmost importance for the whole Party to obey its Central Committee at this crucial moment. When we speak of upholding Party unity and unification, the primary task is to rally closely around the Party Central Committee, obey its leadership and to achieve unity of thinking, policy, plan, command and action. When the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country rally closely around the Party Central Committee and resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we shall be able to surmount all difficulties and hazards and go on winning new victories for the socialist cause.

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Firmly Bear in Mind Party's Basic Line

by

the Tach'ing CCP Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

Our esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher Chairman Mao always showed the utmost concern for the workers of Tach'ing. In these days of mourning with deepest grief Chairman Mao's passing, the workers, cadres, PLA commanders and fighters stationed here, dependents and commune members in Tach'ing, imbued with profound proletarian feelings, studied again and again the "Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country" issued by the CCP Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee as well as Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's memorial speech at the memorial rally for Chairman Mao. Reviewing Chairman Mao's instructions and recalling Tach'ing's fighting course under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, all of us resolutely expressed our determination to firmly respond to the call of the Party Central Committee, turn our grief into strength, carry out Chairman Mao's behests, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, and continue the revolution under the dictatorship ofthe proletariat, vowing to carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

Tach'ing Oilfield owes its growth to the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and being nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought. Great leader Chairman Mao, showing great concern for Tach'ing, gave us many instructions. More than 8 thousand sons and daughters of Tach'ing represented by the /late/ iron man Wang Chin-hsi had the fortune of meeting with and being greatly inspired by the great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao's directives and warm solicitude constituted a strong motive force for the continuing progress of Tach'ing. The sturdy growth of the Tach'ing workers has been closely linked with great leader Chairman Mao's teachings, and the victorious development of the oilfield has been closely related with his revolutionary line. There would have been no Tach'ing without Mao Tsetung Thought, and the development of Tach'ing is owed to Mao Tsetung Thought. Every victory at Tach'ing Oilfield is a victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and a solid fruit born of Mao Tsetung Thought.

The workers of Tach'ing will forever remember that in the fighting years of developing the oilfield, the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries whipped up an anti-China adverse current, with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique trying to blackmail us with oil. The great leader Chairman Mao then guided us to resist the storm and approved the campaign for oil at Tach'ing. With Chairman Mao's glorious works "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" as a weapon and determined to rid China of backwardness in oil, tens of thousands of workers displayed the greatest socialist enthusiasm, toiled hard and self-reliantly, and in a period of slightly more than three years developed the Tach'ing Oilfield, thus completely smashing the plots of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. In 1964, the great leader Chairman Mao issued the call "in industry, learn from Tach'ing," affirmed the direction in which

Tach'ing was going and gave Tach'ing's workers great inspiration and encouragement. With Chairman Mao's solicitude and education, the Tach'ing workers exerted themselves to find and overcome their shortcomings while making achievements. They looked at themselves from the viewpoint of one dividing into two, resolutely acted on Chairman Mao's instructions, and continued the revolution without cessation. During the great cultural revolution, the chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and a handful of class enemies in society regarded Tach'ing as a thorn in the flesh and negated Tach'ing's basic experience, trying by all possible ways to pull down the red banner of Tach'ing planted by Chairman Mao himself. Then in the course of the acute struggle between the two classes and two lines, the great leader Chairman Mao reaffirmed the need to "learn from Tach'ing in industry," gave us the greatest support and encouragement, and urged us to move forward. Since the start of the great cultural revolution, Tach'ing Oilfield has developed substantially,equivalent to six Tach'ings before the great cultural revolution. This is a solid result of the great cultural revolution.

The practical struggle tells us that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the basic guarantee in guiding us to win victories. Chairman Mao's warm solicitude and admonitions are forever imprinted in Tach'ing workers' hearts, and the light of Mao Tsetung Thought will always illuminate the road of advance for the Tach'ing workers. We must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, and incessantly struggle against the bourgeoisie and the revisionist line. A socialist enterprise is definitely not a simple organization for production, but first of all, a battlefield of class struggle. Within the enterprise, an acute struggle will exist for a long time to come on such major questions as what kind of line should be followed, what road should be taken, whom should be relied on in running the enterprise, and whether it is necessary to persistently criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism. In the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship since last year and in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we have, through investigations and study and taking Tach'ing's actual conditions into account, mobilized the workers and staff to discuss the following questions: In an enterprise owned by the whole people such as Tach'ing, is there a danger of it going revisionist? After the great cultural revolution, will capitalist roaders still appear in the leading body and how can we make sure that the leadership of the enterprise is firmly placed in the hands of genuine Marxists and the worker masses? When one becomes a worker or cadre and joins the Party, does he need to remold himself and how can be prevent himself from going revisionist?

After conscientiously studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and holding serious discussions in relation to the actual conditions, the workers and staff further realized that in Tach'ing as in the rest of the country, classes, class contradiction and class struggle existed and the main contradiction was also one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Tach'ing also practices the eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money. In Tach'ing, bourgeois rights also exist as do the soil and conditions engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements. In a word, the struggle goes on here every year, every month and every day

over the question of whether to practice Marxism or revisionism and to take the socialist or the capitalist road. If we do not seriously implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, do not criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and do not persist in taking class struggle as the key link nor use the Party's basic line as the guide to our work in all fields, then there is the possibility that Tach'ing may go revisionist and capitalism may be restored. It is clear from a look back at the history of struggle in Tach'ing that from the day Tach'ing came into being, the revisionist line and the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party have time and again attacked us, interfered with the implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and attempted to alter the socialist orientation of the enterprise, so that Tach'ing would go astray. Tach'ing does not have a smooth sailing even after the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The struggle is continuing. Around summer last year, Teng Hsiao-p'ing dished out a revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" to reverse the verdicts of and settle the old scores with the great cultural revolution. He called for "rectification" here, there and everywhere in a vain attempt to restore capitalism in an all-round way. The Tach'ing workers, who firmly follow Chairman Mao's teachings, did not listen to Teng Hsiao-p'ing but strongly opposed his revisionist line. They have persisted in grasping class struggle and continued the socialist revolution in the superstructure and in relations of production, so that both revolution and production in Tach'ing have progressed further. "Without struggle, there will be no progress." It is because we have acted on Party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao and persevered in the fight against class enemies, the bourgeoisie and the revisionist line that we have accomplished a lot today. Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged: "Your Tach'ing differs from other places. As far as you are concerned, class struggle is not the principal contradiction." He had an ulterior motive in saying this. Tach'ing's fighting course and numerous facts of practical struggle have thoroughly refuted such a revisionist fallacy on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's part. The Tach'ing workers put it well: "Far from ignoring class struggle, Tach'ing has given a prominent place to class and line struggles, and that has accounted for today's victories."

In grasping class struggle, the focus is on the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. "The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road," and this is a historical phenomenon that will exist for a long time in the socialist period. Since the campaign was launched in Tach'ing, we have gone through one struggle after another, mainly the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party, the struggle against capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao interfered with and disrupted Tach'ing's revolution and construction. The arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing regarded Tach'ing even more as an obstacle to his pushing the revisionist line. Before the great cultural revolution, he came to Tach'ing to peddle the theory of the dying out of class struggle; after going back to work, he again viciously tampered with Tach'ing's fundamental experience in adhering to the Party's basic line, misrepresenting Tach'ing as a typical example of grasping production. His negation of the most fundamental element in Tach'ing's experience was meant to make it easier for him to push his revisionist line and the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." Practical struggle led us to further

understand that to adhere to the Party's basic line, it is necessary to criticize the revisionist line and that to grasp class struggle, it is most vital to grasp the struggle against the capitalist roaders in power within the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Since the beginning of this year, the cadres and masses in Tach'ing have conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's important instructions on criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and penetratingly criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and his revisionist fallacies spread on the economic front. At present, a new upsurge in criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing has been whipped up with the three poisonous weeds--"On the General Program," "Outline Report" and "Regulations"--as the main target. Through study and criticism, the workers have increased their ability to see through revisionism and raised their consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They are determined to uphold the tradition of relying on the "two theories" /"On Contradiction" and "Practice"/, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, criticize the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, criticize material incentives and profit in command, criticize the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and wage a struggle against revisionism and the bourgeoisie in the Party through to the end. They are to strive to build Tach'ing into a fortified position for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao has left us. His death is an incalculable loss to our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities of our country, to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries, and to the international communist movement. Chairman Mao will live forever in our hearts. The invincible Mao Tsetung Thought will shine forever. Chairman Mao's teachings will forever command us in action. We the workers, cadres, PLA commanders and fighters stationed here, dependents and commune members in Tach'ing must rally very closely around the Party Central Committee, make an effort to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, and adhere to the Party's basic line with criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing as the motive force. We must grasp revolution and promote production, other work and preparedness against war. We must win new victories in revolution and production and make new contributions to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Hold High the Red Flag and Keep on Moving Forward

by

the Party Branch of Tachai Brigade

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao has passed away. All the Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants in Tachai are in grip of infinite sorrow. As we look at the photograph showing Chairman Mao shook hands with Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, our old Party Branch Secretary, we feel Chairman Mao was so kind and warm. As we look at the sparkling big characters "Learn from Tachai in Agriculture," we feel Chairman Mao's teaching has given us tremendous strength. How can we make ourselves believe that Chairman Mao has left us? As we read the "Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country," hear the sad strains of mourning music, and see the black armbands and white flowers, the several hundred people, men and women, old and young in the whole village are overwhelmed with grief and burst into tears. For the last several days, many have lost their appetite and not been able to sleep. Our esteemed and beloved Chairman Mao, we'll never forget you!

Tachai has grown up under our great leader Chairman Mao's wise leadership and warm solicitude. Without Chairman Mao, the liberation of Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants would have been impossible. Without Chairman Mao, Tachai would not have undergone heaven-storming changes. Tachai in the old society was an impoverished village, with the landlords and rich peasants occupying 70 percent of the village's land and brutally exploiting and oppressing the poor and lower-middle peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants "toiled year in and year out and were inadequately clad; they could not pay off their debts to the landlords even if they sold their sons and went begging." They lived in the thick of fire, on the brink of death. Look at Tachai today. Red flags are fluttering on the Tiger Head Mountain. Political power is in the hands of poor and lower-middle peasants. Tachai's face is changing every day, and its living standard is improving steadily. Every household has surplus grain, and there are collective grain stocks. It makes great contributions to the state every year. Our happy life is made possible by the fact that Chairman Mao personally founded the Chinese Communist Party, created the People's Army and led the Chinese people to overthrow the three big mountains through protracted and hard struggle, and by the fact that it was Chairman Mao who led us to take the socialist road and wage continuous and tough struggle against revisionism and capitalism. Great are heaven and earth, but still greater is Chairman Mao's benefaction; dear are our parents, but still dearer is Chairman Mao! Chairman Mao was our poor and lower-middle peasants' great savior!

In these days of painfully mourning Chairman Mao's death, we have again and again looked at the late Chairman Mao's portrait, again and again studied his great teachings and again and again looked back over the fighting course in which he led us to advance. Since the liberation, we have toppled the landlords, carried out land reform, gone through collectivization and the people's commune movement, and embarked on the bright road of socialism. We have continuously waged the revolution in the economic base and the superstructure. In the process, we have experienced numerous acute and complex

class and line struggles! The great leader Chairman Mao taught us to take class struggle as the key link, showed us the orientation of struggle, and helped us pass one shoal after another and win one victory after another. At every crucial moment of struggle, he supported us and showed us the way. Many times he warmly received our brigade's representatives. On the occasion of National Day in 1969, Chairman Mao even invited our brigade's representatives attending the celebrations to Chungnanhai and stay with him. The road of Tachai was beaten out under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, which is the poor and lower-middle peasants' lifeblood.

The basic reason why we have won the victories in revolution and production and continued to press ahead with the revolution is that Chairman Mao's great theory has armed us and his revolutionary line has guided us, enabling us to understand that there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society and to grasp class struggle as the key link in practical work. From 1960 to 1962, due to the Soviet revisionists' perfidy coupled with natural calamities, our national economy encountered temporary difficulties. Taking advantage of the opportunity, the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party came out to attack socialism. Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing echoing each other, practiced san-tzu-i-pao and "four freedoms" in a big way and vigorously trumpeted the theme of "white cat, black cat." What was Tachai to do? We faced a serious test. At this moment, Chairman Mao presided over the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee and issued to the whole Party the great call "never forget classes and class struggle." Moreover, he proposed more comprehensively a basic line for our Party during the historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao's directive was a head-on blow to Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and made us see clearly that what Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing did was actually an attack mounted by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, an attempt to make us leave the socialist track and return to the old capitalist road. With our thinking heightened and the correct line distinguished from the erroneous one, we became more conscious in our fight against capitalism and revisionism, more determined to take the socialist road, and more eager to march forward.

Tachai was struck by a big flood in 1963. In several days houses and dikes collapsed. Soil erosion was serious. What was to be done to deal with this natural disaster? This involved a sharp and acute struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. The bourgeoisie in the Party and class enemies in society, echoing each other, forced us to disband and ask for state relief. As Chairman Mao's thesis on class struggle made us see clearly, to disband meant to disband the collective economy, to dissolve socialism and to suffer for a second time. This we could not do. So, we repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's teachings on "only socialism can save China," "self-reliance" and "arduous struggle." We mobilized the masses to launch a resolute counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie. We also fought resolutely against the natural disaster. Finally, we repulsed the capitalist offensive, overcame the natural disaster, and took a big step forward on the socialist road.

When we, practicing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, achieved some results in resolutely taking the socialist road and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao highly appraised us and

issued to the whole country the great call "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." Chairman Mao's call was the greatest encouragement and support for Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants, so touched were we that we burst into tears many times and hailed "Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long live Chairman Mao!"

since Chairman Mao issued this call, the question of whether to learn from or oppose Tachai has become part of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. In 1964, the chieftain of the revisionist line Liu Shao-ch'i took the opportunity offered by the socialist education movement to push the "T'aoyüan experience" for capitalist restoration and brutally persecuted Tachai in a vain attempt to hack down Tachai's red flag. In this critical juncture, great leader Chairman Mao received Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei in Peking on December 26, 1964. Chairman Mao also dined with Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei and took a picture with him. This was Chairman Mao's most timely and forceful support for us and a heavy blow to Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang. When it came to us, the news of Chairman Mao receiving Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was like a great warm current flowing into the hearts of the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai. Now that Chairman Mao was behind us, our fighting will became stronger. W h Chairman Mao's guidance, we were invincible. Bearing in mind the "23-points" drawn up under Chairman Mao's direction and Chairman Mao's teachings, we firmly grasped the key link, class struggle, and launched a face-to-face struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party. Finally we drove Liu Shao-ch'i's "T'aoyüan experience" out of Tachai, and Tachai's red flag planted by Chairman Mao fluttered high in the sky.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, is a great political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes under socialist conditions. This fierce class struggle could not but be reflected on the question of learning from Tachai. Scarcely had Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line collapsed than the Lin Piao anti-Party clique inherited Liu Shao-ch'i's mantle and tried to finish off Tachai. They went so far as to openly oppose referring to "Tachai as a red flag on the agricultural front personally planted by our great leader Chairman Mao" and vainly attempted to negate Tachai's experience in arming the masses with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party. The struggle was unprecedentedly acute. The many instructions Chairman Mao issued during the great cultural revolution guided and supported us in our fight. Under Chairman Mao's warm solicitude and instruction, the Party Central Committee and the State Council further commended Tachai and affirmed its experience. This struggle enabled us to see more clearly the significance of Tachai's red flag and to realize that the bourgeoisie in the Party was trying to strangle not only Tachai but Chairman Mao's revolutionary line upheld by Tachai and the struggle waged by Tachai to combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism. This further hardened our determination to struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Last year, great leader Chairman Mao personally approved the convocation of a national conference on learning from Tachai in agriculture in Hsiyang and sent many leading comrades of the Party Central Committee to inspect our work in Tachai. At the conference, the arch unrepentant capitalist

roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing, instead of referring to class and line struggles, vigorously preached the "theory of productive forces," thus staging a rival drama against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The road Tachai has taken is the road to take class struggle as the key link, stick to the Party's basic line, and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. By pushing the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and flagrantly distorting Tachai's experience, Teng Hsiao-p'ing attempted to topple Tachai and lead the mass movement to learn from Tachai onto the evil capitalist road. Personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts smashed Teng Hsiao-p'ing's pipe dream to restore capitalism and helped us take a big step forward in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

Recalling Tachai's fighting course, we are well aware that every achievement of Tachai has been made with Chairman Mao's concern and support, and that every step forward has resulted from the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. By recalling Tachai's fighting course, we have further increased our comprehension of the Party's basic line. We have come to recognize more deeply that in the historical period of socialism there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. To carry out Chairman Mao's behests, we must continue to persist in taking class struggle as the key link, stick to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, wage a protracted struggle against the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie in the Party, strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has left us forever, but his warm solicitude to us in Tachai is still vivid before our eyes and his teachings still ring in our ears constantly. The more we recall the fighting course in which Chairman Mao guided us to march ahead, the more we feel that Chairman Mao was wise and great and the more we cherish the memory of him. No words can ever express our infinite grief. We know that the best way to mourn Chairman Mao is to turn our grief into strength, carry out his behests, develop the Tachai spirit nurtured by him, hold still higher Tachai's Red flag planted by him personally, and carry through to the end the revolutionary cause of the proletariat pioneered by him. Chairman Mao adjured us: "Act according to the principles laid down." We will never fail Chairman Mao's earnest hopes, and we will forever march forward along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line guided Tachai in its advance in the past, are guiding us in victoriously waging the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts today, and will surely guide us to carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end and bravely head for communism in the future!

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Ultra-Right Essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Revisionist Line

by

Hung Yüan (洪 源)

(Hung-ch'i /Hung-ch'i/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

Translating their grief into strength and carrying out the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's behests in response to the Party Central Committee's call, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are deepening the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts and advancing the socialist revolution and construction. The main gist and basic views of a series of "talks" delivered by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in 1975 are reflected in a concentrated way and his revisionist theories, program, line and policies systematically set out in "On the General Program for All Work of the Party and the Country" ("On the General Program" for short), "Some Problems Concerning the Work of Science and Technology" (also known as "Outline Report") and "Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Development" (sometimes referred to as the "Regulations"). These three big poisonous weeds, produced on his instructions, were an important step to create public opinion and a plan of action to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism. Deeply criticizing these three big poisonous weeds will help us see more clearly the ultra-Right essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, increase our ability to distinguish genuine Marxism from sham, and enhance our awareness of the need to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The three poisonous weeds have a basic characteristic in common: setting out "taking the three directives as the key link" as the general program for all work and the "four modernizations" as the general task and general objective for the socialist period. Class struggle, proletarian dictatorship, and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are all thrown overboard. Herein lies the ultra-Right essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line in its concentrated form.

In criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Chairman Mao pointed out: "What 'Taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it"; and "this person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link." The reactionary essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" is to substitute the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces for the basic theory and basic practice that our Party has many years upheld of class struggle and the struggle between the two roads. It directly opposes taking class struggle as the key link, negates the Party's basic line and the need for the great cultural revolution. From a superficial view, "taking the three directives as the key link" includes the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But on closer examination of the actual contents of the three big poisonous weeds, it becomes clear that this is a fraud. Chairman Mao's important instructions concerning theory emphasize combating and preventing revisionism and restricting bourgeois

rights and pinpoint the danger of capitalist restoration attempted by the bourgeoisie inside the Party, such as Lin Piao and company, thus indicating the direction for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The three big poisonous weeds bypass the major points of Chairman Mao's instructions or distort them, strip them of revolutionary spirit and blunt their revolutionary edge. There is practically no place for the study of theory to oppose and prevent revisionism, for the continuing of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The sole aim of these poisonous weeds is development of production by following the capitalist road or, in other words, the restoration of capitalism.

Taking the realization of the "four modernizations" as the general task and general objective of the whole Party and the people of the whole country, the three big poisonous weeds not only willfully tamper with the basic program of the Party but also seriously distort the tasks of revolution and construction proposed by the 4th National People's Congress. The basic program of our Party is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism. The "Report on the Work of the Government" made by Premier Chou En-lai to the 4th National People's Congress also sets as a general task: Adherence to the Party's basic line and policies; perseverance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; consolidation and expansion of the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution; and the winning of new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The four modernizations /of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology/ are given as the specific tasks in socialist construction, subordinate to the general task. The realization of the four modernizations is indeed a splendid task, but it must not be taken as the general task of the Party or as a substitute for the Party's basic program. The three big poisonous weeds use the so-called four modernizations in an underhand attempt to negate class struggle, proletarian dictatorship and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This reveals outright the reactionary essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line.

Marxists have always held that revolution is the locomotive of history and a powerful motive force for the development of social production. In criticizing Trotsky and Bukharin, Lenin pointed out: "Without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, and, consequently, will be incapable of solving its production problem either." ("More on Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, p. 442) Chairman Mao often taught us: "Politics is the commander, the soul in everything" and "political work is the lifeblood of all economic work." During the great proletarian cultural revolution he again set forth the principle "grasp revolution, promote production." The teachings of Lenin and Chairman Mao provide us with sharp ideological weapons to criticize the revisionist theories of the dying out of class struggle and of productive forces. It is quite obvious that by departing from the key link of class struggle and placing the "four modernizations" first, Teng Hsiao-p'ing replicated the theory of productive forces propagated by Trotsky and Buharin and repeated the old tactics of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao who played up the theory of productive forces. His program would never lead to a socialist modernization, but, on the contrary, to a

restoration of the capitalist relations of production, to destruction of the productive forces. This is something the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party would gladly accept and actively seek. Didn't the handful of counter-revolutionaries who engineered the political incident at Tienanmen Square not long ago loudly hail the reactionary slogan "the four modernizations day," madly attack the dictatorship of the proletariat, and want to present Teng Hsiao-p'ing as China's Nagy? Here people may also see that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line actually represented the interests of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and reflected their desire to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Another characteristic common to the three big poisonous weeds is an implacable hostility to the great proletarian cultural revolution. They betray an urgent need to reverse verdicts and settle the old scores. Even though the "edges" of many remarks have been "smoothed out" through literary refinement, their slander and attack on the cultural revolution are still vivid on paper and the sound of clenching teeth is still audible between the lines. Here we may further perceive the ultra-Right essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line.

The great cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao has smashed the schemes of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao for capitalist restoration, criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and enabled us to seize back that portion of leading power in the Party and state they had usurped. These magnificent contributions to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship, the prevention of capitalist restoration and the building of socialism have won whole-hearted support from China's hundreds of millions of people and are acclaimed by the revolutionary people all over the world. But the three big poisonous weeds make various charges against the cultural revolution and and leave no stone unturned in attacking and smearing it. They allege that "the Party's good cadres and advanced model characters have been struck down," that "only politics and not economics, and only revolution and not production are attended to," that "management is chaotic," that the progress of the four modernizations had been retarded and this and that "crisis" had been brought about, and so on and so forth. In short, "the present is not as good as the past" in all fields. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out in his criticism of the Right opportunists in the Party: "They are blind and all is dark ahead of them. At times they go so far as to confound right and wrong and turn things upside down." ("Introductory Note to "This Township Is Cooperativized in Two Years'") It is precisely this kind of evaluation of the revolutionary situation from the Rightist stand that prompted Teng Hsiao-p'ing to make a hasty "switch" to reverse the verdicts of the cultural revolution and settle scores with it.

Doesn't "On the General Program" arrogantly propose that we should make a "summation" of the cultural revolution by "taking the three directives as the key link"? Well, let us see what such "summation" is all about. As we all know, in the early period of the cultural revolution Chairman Mao issued the great call "it is right to rebel against reactionaries." During the cultural revolution Chairman Mao again pointed out: "Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle." Chairman Mao called on us to bring the proletarian revolutionary spirit into full play and resolutely fight against revisionism. In response to Chairman Mao's call, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, young Red Guards and the broad masses of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals rose up to rebel against

the capitalist roaders and against the revisionist line, thereby greatly heightening their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle. Large numbers of revolutionary fighters have emerged, who are daring in rebellion against the capitalist roaders and daring in criticism of the revisionist line. This is of tremendously far-reaching significance in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, the three big poisonous weeds, instead of summing up this basic experience of the cultural revolution, ask the people to remember "a profound lesson," that is, to make an "analysis" of "rebellions" and "goings against the tide." Any perceptive person knows that what is referred to as "analysis" here is merely negation, another way of saying "abolish" by smoothing out the edges. Both the proletariat and the revolutionary masses know that revolutionary rebellion means rebellion against the bourgeoisie, whereas rebellion against proletarian dictatorship means restoration. The "going against the tide" which Chairman Mao advocated means going against the revisionist tide, whereas going against the tide of historical development means regression. The three big poisonous weeds deliberately ignore these well-known facts and openly spearhead their attack at Chairman Mao's great call "It is right to rebel against reactionaries" and his important instruction on "going against the tide." The motive behind all this is to get the people to give up the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and docilely follow Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line. This is a sinister example of making so-called "summation" of the cultural revolution by "taking the three directives as the key link."

Doesn't "On the General Program" clamor flagrantly for "drafting specific policies for all types of work" by "taking the three directives as the key link"? Well, let us see what kind of policy they want to formulate. The "Regulations" not only propagates a slavish comprador philosophy and clamors for importing a greater amount of advanced foreign techniques, but tables the absurb proposal for "the signing of long-term contracts with foreign countries, which are to supply a few selected production units in China with complete sets of needed modern equipment and paying them with China's coal and petroleum." To borrow from foreign monopoly capital and repay with precious natural resources--such is the "major policy" Teng Hsiao-p'ing advocated. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's policy of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts." This "major policy" of not differentiating between white cat and black cat, between imperialism and Marxism, is a policy of capitulation and national betrayal out and out, whose consequence could only be the turning of China into an appendage to imperialism and social-imperialism.

Doesn't "On the General Program" demand "rectification of all work" by "taking the three directives as the key link" and propose all-embracing "rectification" in nine major fields? Large amounts of facts revealed in the anti-Right deviationist struggle in the educational, scientific and technological, literary and art, health and medical fields, have clearly shown that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's so-called "rectification" is a synonym for the reversal of verdicts and restoration, aimed at negating Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, the cultural revolution, and the proletarian dictatorship. He wanted to "switch" all work, from the superstructure to the economic base, onto the revisionist track to restore capitalism in an all-round way.

Another characteristic common to the three big poisonous weeds is to take the forces that the socialist revolution should rely on as the target of struggle, curse and attack the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, and protect and back the Party capitalist roaders.

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao taught us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." ("An Analysis of Various Classes in Chinese Society") In the socialist period, the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, the main target being the Party capitalist roaders. However, the three big poisonous weeds, instead of taking the Party capitalist roaders as the main target of the revolution, go all out to defend them, make bitter complaints on their behalf, back them and bolster up their morale. Both "On the General Program" and "Regulations" maliciously assail our struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party by charging that "the Party's good cadres" "have been struck down." This is simply to confuse black with white. The great cultural revolution purged Liu Shao-ch'i and a band of renegades and sworn followers under him and smashed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Could it be that they were the "Party's good cadres" "struck down"? As for comrades who committed mistakes under the pernicious influence of the revisionist line, we helped them return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in accordance with Chairman Mao's policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." Could it be that we "struck down" the "Party's good cadres"? The criminal aim of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in dishing up this reactionary fallacy was to attempt to organize a "home-coming contingent" and let the unrepentant capitalist roaders rise to power again to restore capitalism.

On the other hand, the three big poisonous weeds show inveterate hatred for the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and fight resolutely against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. "On the General Program" sensationally calls for a struggle against "anti-Marxist class enemies" who "inherited the mantle from Lin Piao" so as to "recapture the power of leadership." And it describes this as "an expression in a concentrated form of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two line at the present moment." However, "such enemies" are neither landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries,bad elements and Rightists nor renegades and secret agents, and still less are they capitalist roaders. Who are they? It is not difficult to see that they are the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres who persist in the struggle against the capitalist roaders, in other words, communists who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The "Regulations" also alleges that some units "are controlled by unreformed petty intellectuals and 'brave elements'." Quite obviously, whatever come under attack here are the new-born forces who have grown up during the great cultural revolution and who dare to take on the Party bourgeoisie. In short, they seek every means to suppress the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres who resolutely continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and put the unrepentant capitalist roaders and bourgeois authorities back to power, thereby turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing has the characteristic inherent in all chieftains of the Right opportunist line. Revisionism is Right opportunism. In terms of the theory of knowledge, it is characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective and by the separation of knowledge from practice. In exposing the origin of the Right opportunist theory of knowledge, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out: "We are opposed to diehards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as Right opportunism. These people fail to see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all diehards. Their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction." ("On Practice") Teng Hsiao-p'ing precisely is such a diehard. The line he pushed is a reactionary line geared to drag history in the opposite direction. Under the leadership of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the people of all nationalities of China, after more than half a century of arduous and heroic struggles, have advanced Chinese society by an entire historical era; the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have made a great contribution to the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the advance of history; under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China's socialist revolution and construction is surging ahead, bringing about an excellent situation; the broad masses of people have brought forth many new socialist things in the course of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and criticizing revisionism. All these Teng Hsiao-p'ing frantically attacked, vilified and negated. This shows how Teng Hsiao-p'ing viewed things entirely from the ultra-Right stand, which goes against history and progress. This line of his represents only the interests of the decadent, moribund bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and goes diametrically against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, which represents the vital interests of the proletariat and the other laboring people; it runs counter to the direction of historical advance.

In the course of the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist trend, Chairman Mao pointed out: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." This instruction of Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head with regard to Teng Hsiao-p'ing. He has never been a Marxist, and is no more than a fellow traveller in the revolution. When the revolution advances to a new stage where all-round dictatorship is exercised over the bourgeoisie and bourgeois rights are restricted so as to gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to arise anew, he is bound to stand in opposition to the revolution, to the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, and to try to turn back the wheel of history. In terms of the theory of knowledge, the origin of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line lies in his thinking which was divorced from social practice, in his understanding which remained at the old stage, in his

oppose Legalism. Yet Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants to obliterate this struggle through the publicity in "On the General Program." This shows how much he has degenerated!

Although Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a capitalist roader who reads no books or newspapers and is not learned in anything, it is by no means due to ignorance that he denies the existence of the Confucian-Legalist struggle. His direct aim is to negate the criticism of Lin and Confucius, to obliterate the immediate and far-reaching significance of this struggle and to oppose Chairman Mao's great instructions on criticizing the honor-Confucianism and oppose-Legalism ideas.

To apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to criticizing the reactionary ideas of the Confucian school and to correctly evaluating the progressive role and limitations of the Legalists in studying the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle is of momentous significance for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao taught us: "Historical experience merits attention." To study the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole in Chinese history and so to sum up the experience and lessons of upholding reform and opposing restoration and upholding progress and opposing regression will deepen our knowledge of the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the historical period of socialism. It will enable us to deepen our understanding of the necessity of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that we may better implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. The history of our Party indicates that the chieftains of the opportunist and revisionist lines always take the Confucian-Mencian doctrines as an ideological weapon to oppose our Party's correct line. Apart from the fact that their reactionary aim is identical with that of Confucius and his ilk in trying to practice restoration and regression, this is also due to their desire to exploit the influence of the Confucian-Mencian doctrines among the masses to deceive and hoodwink the masses. To study the Confucian-Legalist struggle and to criticize the reactionary ideological system of the Confucian school in connection with the history of the two-line struggle in the Party may help us distinguish the correct from the erroneous line, improve our ability to distinguish true Marxism and the false and raise our consciousness of struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. On this point, the capitalist roaders inside the Party have high reactionary political sensitivity. Even before certain comrades in our ranks deeply grasped the momentous significance of studying the Confucian-Legalist struggle, they already had the premonition that they would be put at a disadvantage in pushing the revisionist line and promoting restoration and regression. So, shortly after Teng Hsiao-p'ing resumed work, he disseminated his absurdities to obliterate the Confucian-Legalist struggle.
This fully illustrates the inner-Party bourgeoisie's utter hostility toward and extreme fear of the criticism of the honor-Confucianism and oppose-Legalism ideas.

There is nothing strange that Teng Hsiao-p'ing obliterates the Confucian-Legalist struggle and is afraid of and even opposes the criticism of Confucius. The reason is that he himself honors Confucius and opposes the

Legalists and is a disciple of Confucius and Mencius. Joining the revolution with the bourgeois coat of arm, Teng Hsiao-p'ing never accepted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought nor remolded his world outlook. His head was still a kingdom of the decadent ideas of the exploiting class, in which the Confucian-Mencian doctrines occupied an important position. By the socialist revolution period, he has stubbornly taken the bourgeois stand, opposed the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants continuing to move forward on the socialist road, opposed the revolutionary people persevering in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and desperately gone in for restoration and regression. This determines that he must look for his ideological weapons from the Confucian-Mencian doctrines. We still remember vividly how hard he worked in the former years peddling Liu Shao-ch'i's "On Self-Cultivation" which was filled with the poison of the Confucian-Mencian doctrines! Upon resuming work, he continued to peddle the sinister Confucian-Mencian doctrines. Those who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts at his instigation openly sang the tune of Confucius, yelling that "if one does not have a proper title, his words can't carry weight; it is first necessary to rectify the title"! In the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, a handful of class enemies blurted out what was in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's mind. They cursed Ch'in Shih Huang and went so far as to represent our socialist system of proletarian dictatorship as "Ch'in Shih Huang's feudal society." This exposes in broad daylight the ugly features of Teng Hsiao-p'ing as one honoring Confucius and opposing the Legalists!

Like all opportunist and revisionist lines of the past, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line takes the Confucian-Mencian doctrines as its important ideological basis. Although the Confucian-Mencian doctrines have represented the interests of different reactionary classes and taken a variety of forms of concrete expression in different historical periods, their common characteristic is to defend and restore the old institutions and roll the wheel of history back. The fundamental aim of the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is to turn socialism into capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and to pull our socialist state back to the old road of semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. This is essentially identical with Confucius' reactionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." Faced with the excellent situation of vigorous development of the socialist revolution and construction, Teng Hsiao-p'ing nevertheless holds that "the present is not as good as the past," just as Confucius, faced with the big social changes in his time, clamored that "the world is on the moral decline and principles have faded away." In both cases an expression of despair of the declining classes. To break down the old order and reform the old institutions, in the opinion of the revolutionary classes and people, conforms to the tide of historical development, but to all reactionary classes, it is a heinous crime. What would the latter do? Confucius' method was to "rectify titles," and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's method is "rectification." Differing in name but not in substance, both use the old institutions and old things to "rectify" the new institutions and new things. To restore capitalism, Teng Hsiao-p'ing resorted to reinstating states that have been extinguished, restoring families whose line of succession has been broken, and calling to office those who have fallen

into obscurity." As regards political line, he wanted to restore Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao's "defunct" revisionist line; as regards the organizational line, he wanted to "call to office" those capitalist roaders who are still on the capitalist road, "people who have fallen into obscurity." It is noted that when the great cultural revolution destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, employing the means of "self-denial," swore to "mend my way and start life anew" and declared "never to reverse verdicts." Facts prove that he was extremely dishonest with the Party and the people and played the trick of concealment. Once he resumed work and grabbed power, he held aloft the black banner of "returning to propriety," openly calling for "restoration" and organizing a "home-going contingent," and frenziedly launched a vengeful counter-attack against the great cultural revolution. It may be said that Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a contemporary Confucius. It is only natural that our criticism of Confucian thought has hurt Teng Hsiao-p'ing. To criticize the Confucian school is to criticize the important theoretical basis of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and the reactionary line itself, and how can he refrain from voicing his opposition?

To criticize the Confucian school, comment on the Legalist school and study the history of struggle between the Confucians and Legalists is an important aspect of criticism of Lin and Confucius. The aim of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in obliterating the Confucian Legalist struggle is also to oppose the criticize-Lin, criticize-Confucius movement initiated and led by the great leader Chairman Mao himself and to oppose criticism of the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's line. Although "On the General Program," concocted on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instruction, also says perfunctorily that Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao "headed for the same goal by different routes," in concrete exposition it only emphasizes "different routes" and stresses that Lin Piao "ran counter to Liu Shao-ch'i and went to the other extreme." Actually, this means that Lin Piao's line was ultra-"Left." In the name of criticizing ultra-"Left," Teng Hsiao-p'ing covered up the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, and directed the spearhead at Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line, at the great proletarian cultural revolution, at the revolutionary people in their hundreds of millions. For example, "On the General Program" falsely accuses the Chinese Communists who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line of being "class enemies" "inheriting Lin Piao's mantle." It falsely accuses those who persistently take class struggle as the key link and put proletarian politics in command of being "poisoned" by "Lin Piao's theory that politics may override everything" and "caring only for politics and not economics, and only for revolution and not production." The "Outline Report," another big poisonous weed concocted on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instruction, charges those who uphold the Party's policy of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals with "being influenced by Lin Piao's revisionist line" and "calling themselves reformers." In opposing criticism of the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's line, Teng Hsiao-p'ing precisely exposed the ultra-Right essence of his own revisionist line. He and Lin Piao are birds of a feather. How could one chieftain of the revisionist line criticize another? The charge of "inheriting Lin Piao's mantle" cannot be made against anyone else. It is none other than Teng Hsiao-p'ing himself who inherited the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in its entirety. By dishing out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and

advocating the theory of the dying out of class struggle, he, like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao before him, wanted to benumb the fighting will of the proletarians and the laboring people and to cover up the unbridled attack by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party against the proletariat. After this plot was foiled, a handful of class enemies gathering under his sinister banner staged a counter-revolutionary riot at Tienanmen Square. Doesn't this clearly show that they inherited the counter-revolutionary mantle of Lin Piao's "Outline of 'Project 571'"? Teng Hsiao-p'ing used his power to promote restoration and regression and stir up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and behind him were the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Doesn't this clearly show that the social basis of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line is entirely the same as that of Lin Piao's revisionist line?

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's negation of the Confucian-Legalist struggle was designed to meet his need to reverse the verdict of the great cultural revolution and to settle the old scores with it. The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao is a major political revolution by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a momentous struggle against chieftains of the revisionist line like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing who promoted restoration and regression. Its great significance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism will become more and more apparent as time goes on. Proceeding from the interests of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, Teng Hsiao-p'ing hates the great cultural revolution more than anything else. He vainly attempted to start with reversing the verdicts of the great cultural revolution in achieving his criminal aim of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. However, "the wheel of history cannot be rolled back." ("New Democratic Constitutional Government") Teng Hsiao-p'ing's plot of restoration and regression went bankrupt after it was exposed and criticized by the broad masses of the people. But the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration will continue and class and line struggles will go on. We must carry out Chairman Mao's behests, uphold class struggle as the key link, stick to the basic line of the Party, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, go on deepening criticism of Teng, repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, criticizing the Confucian-Mencian doctrines and the ideologies of all exploiting classes, and carry the cause of proletarian revolution through to the end!

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Never Forget Chairman Mao's Teachings

by

the Party Branch of
"The Good 8th Company of Nanking Road"

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

When we heard the news that the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, whom we most respected, had died, all our officers and fighters were painfully sad and cried silently. Standing before Chairman Mao's portrait on Nanking Road with our hearts in Peking, we solemnly took an oath: Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you are the eternally unsetting sun in our hearts, we revolutionary fighters will be loyal to you forever, will always stand guard well over your revolutionary line and always advance along the revolutionary road you blazed.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, we will never forget your concern for and nourishment of the people's army. It was Chairman Mao who, in the years of very bitter revolutionary battles, personally founded the people's army, formulated a proletarian line in army-building, and nurtured the fine work style of the people's army. At Chingkangshan peak, at Tsun-i, on the Long March, at Yensui river bank, Chairman Mao led our army to fight bloody battles, pass through a tortuous road of development and refined our army into an incomparably strong force of steel. On the eve of the establishment of the new China, Chairman Mao patiently instructed us: "To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li..... The comrades must be taught to remain modest, prudent and free of arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be taught to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle." ("Report to the Second Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party") Chairman Mao's teachings clearly pointed out the direction for our army's ideological and organizational construction during the socialist period.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, our company is one which has grown up under the radiance of your brilliant thought. Twenty-seven years ago, our unit came to Nanking Road with red lights and green wine from the battle-field engulfed with gun smoke. At that time, imperialists cursed us saying "/we/ come in Red, and come out Black," and the capitalists fired all sorts of sugar-coated bullets, hoping to cause us to "mildew" and "rot" on Nanking Road. In his report to the Second Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao gave us a mighty ideological weapon to use in the new battlefield and in the new struggle. According to Chairman Mao's instruction of the two "musts," we continued to develop the fine traditions of bitter struggle of our army during the period of conflict, wearing "patched clothes" and "Red Army shoes," resisting the aromatic wind, fighting the narcotic fog, opposing the corrosion of the capitalists, smashing the imperialists' nonsense, preserving the proletarian army's basic political characteristics and standing out majestically on Nanking Road.

Esteemed Chairman Mao, we will never be able to forget your personal concern. It was you who in 1963 authorized giving our unit the glorious title "The Good 8th Company of Nanking Road." Your glorious thought summed up the valuable experience of strnegthening the construction of the people's army under the dictatorship of the proletariat and gave us neverending strength.

Chairman Mao taught us that we must "resist corrosion and never be contaminated." This instruction of Chairman Mao's is the mighty ideological weapon with which to defeat the bourgeoisie. We must carry out Chairman Mao's behests, carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause started by Chairman Mao and must keep this instruction of Chairman Mao's firmly in mind.

"Resist corrosion, never be contaminated" is the true revolutionary characteristic of the people's army built by Chairman Mao. The masses of people support and love us and armed and unarmed enemies cannot conquer us because we have this basic quality. Some people, who in fierce battle are not ashamed to be brave fellows, are defeated in the face of the bourgeoisie's sugar-coated bullets because they have lost this basis quality. The proletarian army, to make its position undefeatable, must always develop the fine work style of hard struggle advocated by Chairman Mao. In situations of material scarcities, it ought to be thus; in situations of improved material life, it must still be so. Today, our unit's cadres and fighters are still the same as when the unit first came to the city. They like to wear self-made straw sandals, use self-made envelopes, sew their own clothes, consciously economize every penny, grain of rice, drop of water, bit of electricity and inch of cloth. We are frugal with every bit and drop not only in order to treasure the material wealth created by the working people but most importantly so as to preserve our army's revolutionary nature. The corrosion of the bourgeoisie often starts from one bit or drop and becomes a breach. So the anti-corrosion efforts of the proletariat also must start with each bit and drop. We must always preserve the revolutionary character of the people's army and so must convey the fine work style of hard struggle from generation to generation.

"Resist corrosion, never be contaminated" is the requirement for our restriction of bourgeois rights and maintenance of the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. The historical mission of our people's army is to be responsible for opposing restoration internally and invasion externally. The important point of the struggle against restoration internally is the struggle against the capitalist roaders within the Party. A very important aspect of the struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party and their revisionist line is the need to criticize and restrict bourgeois rights. Fighting this battle is much more complicated than struggling against the old capitalists on Nanking Road. The capitalist roaders in the Party always use bourgeois rights to corrode people. Some comrades can move up /in rank/ but not down, can be officials but not common people, come from the countryside but forget the countryside. Isn't this the mischief bourgeois rights causes /people's/ minds? The officers and men of our unit through the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat have continued to increase their

consciousness on restricting bourgeois rights. Last year, deputy company commander Chang Hsing-hua, in order to oppose capitalist roaders who pursue bourgeois rights, three times wrote reports firmly requesting to go to frontier villages at the forefront of anti-revisionism to make revolution. The upper level Party committee granted his revolutionary request. Comrade Chang Hsing-hua courageously challenged bourgeois rights and reflected the common purpose of the cadres and fighters throughout the unit. This year, our unit has also had many veterans who with wholehearted revolutionary pride in "struggling against Teng Hsiao-p'ing to the end and offering their youth to communism," have gone to the frontiers and rural areas to settle down and make revolution. We are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, and always be promoters in restricting bourgeois rights and reducing the three major differences.

"Resist corrosion, never be contaminated" is the important guarantee for building a stronger people's army according to Chairman Mao's army building line. Our army is composed of children of the people, created and nourished by Chairman Mao. During the revolutionary war period, the army and people were one, fought together and established flesh and blood class feelings. How the people's army continues to keep a close relationship with the masses under new historical conditions is a major topic which cannot be disregarded. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution began, according to Chairman Mao's teaching "the PLA should support the broad masses of the Left," we have actively participated in the work of "Three supports and two militaries." Beginning with 1974, we have also organized the cadres and fighters to participate widely in class struggle in society, to enter factories, schools and shops to carry out social investigations, to open-mindedly learn from the masses of people, criticize the bourgeoisie with the masses, patrol and fight together with the militia, coordinate with neighborhood organizations and schools to strengthen the work of ideological education among youth. The unit's cadres and fighters leave the barracks together to face the wind and rain of mass struggle and get involved in mass struggle, thereby heightening their awareness of class struggle, the struggle between the two lines and the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the masses of the people, they have absorbed rich political nourishment, strengthened their ability to resist corrosion and forged the will to never be contaminated. Practice proves people's soldiers are able to receive even better steeling by participating in class struggle in society where the classroom is large, teachers are many and the lessons are rich and alive than in the barracks. This is the main route of building up the people's army under socialist conditions. We certainly must keep Chairman Mao's teaching firmly in mind and build our company into a fighting collective that can overcome the wind and waves of any test.

Everything requires sunshine to grow and rain enriches and makes the seedlings flourish. Mao Tsetung Thought nourishes us as we grow. We will always be loyal to Mao Tsetung Thought, never fail to live up to Chairman Mao's long standing teachings and earnest hopes, always follow Chairman Mao's army building line through wind and storm and advance bravely!

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We Will Forever Cherish the Memory of Chairman Mao

by

Party Committee of the Pahataikli Commune
of Sufu County, Sinkiang

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

The report on the passing of Chairman Mao, the boundlessly esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher of the people of all nationalities of our country, came like a heart-splitting thunderbolt out of the blue sky when it was spread to the oasis by the Pamirs Plateau. Our great benefactor was mourned with the deepest grief by us cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants of the Pahataikli Commune in a ceremony with the most solemn rites of the Uighur people. Facing in the direction of Peking with tears welling in our eyes, we all recited in silence over and over again: "Our respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you are the never-setting red sun in our hearts! It is the radiance of the red sun that has brought the red flowers to full blossom over the Tienshan Mountains, and it was your leadership that brought liberation to us minority people. Like the unending flow of the snow-melted water streaming down the Tienshan Mountains, words recounting the kindness of Chairman Mao can never stop pouring from our hearts. Chairman Mao, Oh, Chairman Mao, you will always live in our hearts. We people of the Uighur nationality will cherish your memory from generation to generation!"

Chairman Mao was the founder and wise leader of our Party, our army and our country, the great savior of the people of all nationalities in China. We Uighur people will never forget how many people were displaced and homeless, and how many families were forced to sell their children and broken apart in the man-eating old society. In those years Pahataikli was the paradise of the Pak and Pai /wealthy men/ and hell for the working people. Filled with the blood and tears of the people of Pahataikli, the turbulent waters in the Ko-tzu-le River are the annals of the enmity and hatred of us poor and lower-middle peasants! "Now the cock has crowed and all under heaven is bright; here is music from all peoples, from Yutien too." It was in 1949 that Chairman Mao sent our kinsmen the PLA here and we miserable Uighur people were liberated from the whips of the Pak and Pai. Since then the vast land of Pahataikli has been bathed in the radiance of the Red sun. The slaves of yesterday have become masters of new China, and the desolate Pahataikli has been turned into a flourishing new socialist countryside. Those who have been through the bitter cold of winter are the ones who can best appreciate the warmth of the Red sun. At a time when Chairman Mao is mourned with the deepest sorrow, all poor and lower-middle peasants in our Commune cherish the memory of our great leader Chairman Mao even more profoundly as we pass our hands over the scars left on our bodies from the old society and cast our sight over the filled granaries that tell the happy life we enjoy today. Chairman Mao, we are determined to carry out your behests, firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and make sure that the seal of power will never fall into the hands of the Pak and Pai again.

We will never forget that on March 23, 1952 we liberated peasants of Pahataikli township at a meeting marking the victory of the land reform sent to Chairman Mao, with feelings of boundless love and esteem for him, a letter of salutation in the form of an epic poem. On August 30, the same year Chairman Mao responded with a letter in his own handwriting. He congratulated us on our liberation from the bondage of the feudal system of land ownership of the landlord class, and instructed us that we should unite more closely, make efforts in production, improve livelihood, raise cultural standards and advance along the road of socialism. Chairman Mao's letter indicated the orientation of advance like a radiant beaconlight for us Uighurs, and instilled tremendous encouragement and strength in us. Keeping Chairman Mao's instruction firmly in mind, we enthusiastically acted in response to his great call "get organized" and advanced triumphantly on the basis of the land reform. We actively made preparations for the formation of agricultural producers' cooperatives. An upsurge was rapidly whipped up in Pahataikli for agricultural cooperativization. But the arch capitalist roader in the Party Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang sought to undermine the movement for cooperation in agriculture, and vainly attempted to dampen the enthusiasm of us minority people for the socialist road by babbling that "cooperatives cannot be organized in areas of minority peoples." It was once again our great leader Chairman Mao who offered enormous encouragement and support to the minority people at this crucial juncture. He clearly pointed out in the "introductory note to the article 'Township and Village Cadres Can Lead the Formation of Cooperatives" that "one can see that the Uighur peasants are very eager to take the road to cooperation. They have already trained the cadres they need for putting semi-socialist cooperation into effect. Some people claim that cooperation cannot succeed among the national minority people. This is not so." This brilliant instruction of Chairman Mao's was a powerful criticism of the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang in opposing the movement for agricultural cooperation, and said what was in the minds of us poor and lower-middle peasants of the minority nationalities. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant instruction, we were able to see things more clearly and became more confident. After surmounting all difficulties and obstacles, we successfully formed the cooperatives. This was followed later with the establishment of the people's commune, which was a giant step along the broad road of socialism. The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. A review of the militant course we minority people have traversed on the socialist road makes us more deeply understand that each step forward we have made is a step made under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, which is our lifeline.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, under Chairman Mao's leadership, we waged a resolute struggle against Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, criticized the capitalist tendencies, and consolidated and developed the collective economy. Through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has taken even deeper root in the hearts of the people, giving added impetus to pushing the successful development of the movement to learn from Tachai. A vigorous situation in

which "Orioles sing, swallows dart" is prevailing in Pahataikli. At present the commune as a whole has more than 50 large farm machines, including tractors and motor vehicles, and mechanization or semi-mechanization in agricultural production has in the main been achieved. The 1975 grain output was nearly 5 times that for the early post-liberation days, and the output of this year's summer crops rose another 30 percent above the like period last year. With the progress in production, the living standard of the people has been raised considerably, and the happy life is getting happier every day. Great progress has been achieved also in the cultural, educational and health undertakings. Among school-age children, 98 percent are in school, and among children of the poor and lower-middle peasants, 25 have entered college. Of more than 300 educated young people who returned to their hometown in the commune, more than 100 have joined the CCP or the CYL, and nearly 100 have become grassroots cadres. With a clinic in the commune plus cooperative medical service centers in the production brigades and barefoot doctors in the production teams, the situation is now different from before the great cultural revolution when there were not enough medical personnel and medicines in the commune. The earth-shaking changes that have taken place in our Pahataikli are all fruits of the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, and of the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Had it not been for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the liberation of us Uighurs would not have been possible, nor would we be able to enjoy the happy life we do today. Chairman Mao's kindness cannot be measured, not even with the height of mountains or the depth of the seas! The letter sent to us in Pahataikli by Chairman Mao in his own handwriting will be kept imprinted in our hearts and passed on from generation to generation. We will always adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by him.

At a time when Chairman Mao, the great leader and teacher of the people of all nationalities, is mourned with the deepest sorrow, we take our solemn vows in front of Chairman Mao's portrait: The Red hearts of loyalty of us Uighur people to you will remain unchanged even if the seas may run dry and mountains crumble. We are determined to steadily follow the broad road of socialism under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line just as green pines on the Kunlun Mountains will never bend or knuckle under in the face of howling winds and lashing rains.

We are determined to assiduously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works to arm our minds with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We will take class struggle as the key link, continue to deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, wage unswerving struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through the grassroots units.

We are determined to uphold the unity and unification of the Party, rally more closely round the Party Central Committee, and strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party. We will keep our hearts turned forever toward the Red sun, the great Party and socialism. We are determined to strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities and uphold the unification of the socialist motherland in the same way as we protect the apples of our eyes.

We are determined to heighten our revolutionary vigilance a hundred fold, strengthen preparedness against war, intensify militia building, be well prepared against war of aggression, be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to intrude and smash the activities of aggression, subversion and sabotage by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, and build the motherland's northwest border region into a wall of iron to combat and prevent revisionism.

We are determined to grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war, relentlessly criticize capitalism, vigorously work for socialism, and display the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle to bring about a new high tide in the movement to learn from Tachai and build Pahataikli into a new village of the Tachai-type.

We Uighur people will always be loyal to Mao Tsetung Thought and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We are determined to see to it that the expectations expressed by Chairman Mao in his reply to us are translated into even more beautiful reality at Pahataikli and that the great Red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought will always flutter high in the air.

* * *

Persist in Taking Class Struggle as the Key Link

by

Ch'eng Yüeh (程 越)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

At a time when the passing of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung is being mourned with the deepest grief by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, we will not forget that during the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts Chairman Mao once more admonished Party members and cadres to grasp class struggle well, pointing out that "class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." We must carry out Chairman Mao's behests, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts, and carry through to the end the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

The history of class society over the past thousands of years proves that class struggle is the powerful motive force that pushes society forward. To persist in taking class struggle as the key link is in accord with the law of the development of history and in keeping with the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle. To grasp the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road as the key link is the basic theory and basic practice of Chairman Mao in leading the people of the whole country to carry out the socialist revolution and construction. On the eve of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, Chairman Mao already pointed out explicitly that the principal internal contradiction during the period of socialist revolution was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." ("Report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the CCP") This important instruction of Chairman Mao's laid the solid theoretical basis for our struggle against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. Classes and class struggle exist as a matter of fact despite the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, but Liu Shao-ch'i and the bourgeoisie inside the Party, in order to attack the proletariat, energetically denied this. Most profoundly refuting the fallacies negating classes and class struggle spread by Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and their like, Chairman Mao pointed out: "There are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. Class struggle has not ended. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times even become very acute." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") After 13 years of great practice in socialist revolution and construction and in view of the frenzied offensives by class enemies at home and abroad and conspiracies perpetrated by the ringleaders of the revisionist

line inside the Party, Chairman Mao in 1962 issued the great call "Never forget classes and class struggle." Furthermore, he more comprehensively set forth the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism, and taught us that "we must remind ourselves every year, every month and every day" of the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period, so that we would have a more sober understanding. Subsequently, in the socialist education movement unfolded in city and countryside and the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao again made a scientific and incisive analysis of the new situation and new characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period, explicitly pointing out that the capitalist roaders in power were the prime target of the socialist revolution. And in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts, Chairman Mao further set forth the scientific thesis that "you are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." When we are deeply mourning Chairman Mao's passing, it is so much more heart-warming and vital to restudy Chairman Mao's brilliant teachings on the need to take class struggle as the key link.

Chairman Mao's instructions about taking class struggle as the key link constitute a scientific summation of the protracted and fierce struggle between Marxism and revisionism and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie at home and abroad. They have greatly enriched the treasure-house of Marxist theory, and are priceless magic weapons for us to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration, and build socialism. For more than 20 years since the founding of our state, struggles from the "three-antis" and "five-antis," the socialist transformation and the anti-Rightist struggle to the socialist education movement, from the discovery of the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance and the P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique to the destruction of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in the great cultural revolution, and from the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line to shattering the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square--all these were extremely sharp and violent struggles we waged under Chairman Mao's leadership against the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party. The victory of each struggle pushed the socialist cause a giant step forward. Our Party and our socialist state of proletarian dictatorship have been consolidated and strengthened precisely in such class struggle.

Whether it is necessary to take class struggle as the key link in the historical phase of socialism has all along been the focal point of the acute struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary line, an important mark distinguishing genuine Marxism from sham. Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, ringleaders of the revisionist line in our Party, do not differ from the old social-democrats and the modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core in that they all look upon the theory of the dying out of class struggle as the theoretical basis of their line and policies. Basically they deny that the history of the past

thousands of years is a history of class struggle. Basically they negate the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the former over the latter. They frantically oppose our Party's basic theory and basic practice in the socialist period. Every time the socialist revolution deepens a step, these ringleaders of the revisionist line invariably resort to all means, however reckless, to oppose and distort Chairman Mao's instructions on taking class struggle as the key link, and vigorously spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle to benumb the revolutionary will of the masses of the people and cover up their attack on the Party and socialism. As a matter of fact, class struggle has never stopped. Liu Shao-ch'i promoted capitalist restoration in a big way, Lin Piao staged a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing whipped up a Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. The counter-revolutionary acts by these chieftains of the revisionist line completely punctured their fraud about the dying out of class struggle. When Chairman Mao's instructions on taking class struggle as the key link struck deep root in the hearts of the people and the reactionary theory of the dying out of class struggle was roundly criticized, Teng Hsiao-p'ing went so far as to dish up a reactionary political program of "taking the three directives as the key link," ranting wildly "how can we remind ourselves of class struggle every day?" This precisely shows that Teng Hsiao-p'ing is indeed an unrepentant capitalist roader, reflecting his reactionary class nature of utter hostility toward and utter fear of the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. When we remind ourselves of and engage in class struggle every day, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party he represents will find the going tough, their revisionist line will be exposed and criticized by the masses of people, and their conspiratorial activities to restore capitalism will certainly meet with ignominious defeat. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary clamors have educated us by negative example: We must grasp class struggle as the key link, grasp it every day, every month and every year, and never loosen our grip of it.

In order to persist in taking class struggle as the key link, the most important thing is to fight the bourgeoisie inside the Party, the capitalist roaders in the Party in particular. These capitalist roaders in power--Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing--stand for the interests and aspirations of the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes and the newly engendered bourgeois elements and become their political representatives. These capitalist roaders, since they usurp a portion of the Party and state power, find it quite easy to restore capitalism. Therefore, the capitalist roaders in power pose a very great danger to the socialist system of proletarian dictatorship. They are the main and major target of the socialist revolution. If we fail to grasp this crucial point, our efforts to grasp class struggle will be in vain. The capitalist roaders are not only highly reactionary but also highly deceptive in nature. To struggle against them requires astute perception of their counter-revolutionary features. The three fundamental principles set forth by Chairman Mao--"practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire"--are sharp weapons for us to discern the capitalist roaders inside the Party and to distinguish genuine Marxism from sham. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road, and this is something that cannot be changed by people's will. To practice revisionism, promote splits, and intrigue and conspire is the most intrinsic characteristic of all capitalist roaders in their opposition against the revolutionary cause

of the proletariat. Provided we make an effort to master the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the political telescope and microscope, the capitalist roaders will eventually reveal themselves for what they really are, no matter how they may try to masquerade themselves. The Communist Party is the vanguard leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses to fight class enemies. The philosophy of communists is the philosophy of struggle. As a member of the Chinese Communist Party continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, one must take it as his life-long task to struggle against the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie inside the Party in particular. We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching, answer the Party Central Committee's call, and vow to dedicate our lives to the fight against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and all other exploiting classes for the abolition of all systems of exploitation of man by man on earth, and for the realization of communism.

Chairman Mao adjured us: "Act according to the principles laid down." The current deepgoing struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. It is a great struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party. If we are to carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao, we must now do a still better job of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing according to the plan and policies laid down by Chairman Mao. Inheriting the mantle from Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing vainly attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. The reactionary content and substance of his revisionist line are given concentrated expression in the three big poisonous weeds--"On the General Program," "Outline Report" and "Regulations"--dished out on his instructions. In focusing our fire of criticism on Teng Hsiao-p'ing, we must grasp the heart of the matter, that is, his promoting a revisionist ideological and political line, and continue to criticize him in depth. The pernicious influence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line has spread to various spheres, and it has a class basis and a certain market. We should not be content with the gains already obtained, but must press ahead. Some units restudied the important instructions issued by Chairman Mao in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Starting with summing up and reviewing past experiences, conducting investigations and study, holding discussion of selected topics and analyzing the current state of class struggle, they have mapped out plans for continued in-depth criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The theoretical contingents of some units have compared Chairman Mao's magnificent contributions in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist program and fallacies opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and acquainted the masses with the differences so that they could more profoundly recognize the reactionary and dangerous nature of revisionism. Some units combined the study of the "Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country" from the CCP Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's memorial speech delivered at the mass memorial meeting for the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung with the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The contrast on the ideological and political line between how we ought to carry out Chairman Mao's behests in various respects and how Teng Hsiao-p'ing has opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in various fields has

effectively pushed the penetrating criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. We must pay attention to summing up these experiences from the masses. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the sharpest weapon of criticism, and only by seriously studying Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings can we carry on criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in a deepgoing way. Party organizations at all levels, in order to strengthen their leadership over the study, must work out a study plan for more fruitful study of Chairman Mao's writings. Study and criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing should be conducted in the light of the reality of class and line struggles on all fronts, and it is only in this way that we can fully expose the reactionary essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, wipe out its pernicious influence, further raise our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We must heighten our vigilance against the sabotages and disturbances by the bourgeoisie within the Party and class enemies in society. As to the counter-revolutionary activities carried out by a handful of class enemies to spread rumors and create confusion in an attempt to reverse the verdicts on Teng Hsiao-p'ing, we must fully rely on and arouse the masses to thoroughly expose and resolutely strike at them.

The current tasks before us are very formidable. Busy as we are, we must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, grasp class struggle as the key link and use the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts to accelerate all work and promote production. By grasping class struggle as the key link, we will be able to resist and criticize capitalism and revisionism, stick to the socialist road, continue to muster the socialist enthusiasm of hundreds of millions, solve all problems with foresight and ease in accord with the objective law governing the development of things, and do all kinds of work with success. Chairman Mao taught us: "When class struggle is grasped, all problems can be solved readily." In this moment of most painfully mourning the death of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, we must all the more bear in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao's, effectively grasp class struggle as the key link, genuinely devote ourselves to grasping revolution, promoting production, other work and preparedness against war, and do all kinds of work with still better results.

Our respected and beloved great leader and teacher Chairman Mao has left us forever. However, the great Mao Tsetung Thought will forever illuminate our path, and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line will forever guide us forward in combat. When we firmly "grasp class struggle as the key link and grasp the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads as the key link" under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we shall assuredly win still bigger victories in socialist revolution and construction!

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The "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" Will Shine Forever

by

CCP Committee of Anshan Iron and Steel Company

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

The death of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao fills us with the deepest grief. With profound sorrow, the workers, cadres and technicians of our company cherish the memory of our esteemed and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao was one who identified himself with steel workers. It is under Chairman Mao's warm solicitude and teaching that the Company has grown and expanded in struggle. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" which he endorsed will forever illuminate the course of our advance.

The great leader Chairman Mao was most concerned about the construction and development of the Company. We will never forget that every success and victory of the Company was won under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the early days of the People's Republic, Chairman Mao emphasized the need to rely on the working class wholeheartedly, and through 3 years of arduous struggle, production was rapidly resumed on the ruins. In 1952, Chairman Mao in a letter praised and supported the Anshan steel workers for their spirit of daring to struggle and to innovate. In 1953, when the three major projects were completed ahead of schedule in the company, Chairman Mao sent a congratulatory telegram encouraging us to continue our effort, display collective wisdom and strength and make still greater achievements. In 1959, he again directed us to oppose the Rightist trends and work with drive, calling on us to resolutely struggle against Right opportunism to the end. In particular, we will never forget that in March 1960 our respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao personally approved the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," when we affirmed the principles of placing politics in command, strengthening Party leadership, carrying out mass movements in a big way, introducing "two-participations, one transformation and three-in-one combination," and going in for technical innovation and technical revolution. It was solemnly declared: "The Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has appeared in the Far East, in China." Like a beacon light, it has illuminated the road of China's socialist industry.

The "Charter" is a powerful ideological weapon for exercising all-round dictatorship over the brougeoisie in a socialist enterprise. With the "Charter" personally endorsed by Chairman Mao as the guide, the Company has advanced more vigorously on the socialist road. And through the great proletarian cultural revolution, in which the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were smashed and their revisionist line was criticized, an end was put to the phase of zero growth in iron and steel production, and profound revolutionary changes have taken place in the Company. The great cultural revolution has encouraged the Anshan workers to struggle more militantly and more consciously for the consolidation of the dictatorship

of the proletariat. A mighty Marxist theoretical contingent is growing up; a group of workers tempered in struggle have joined the leading body combining the old, middle-aged and young; and the worker masses, who grasp the line and manage important affairs, have truly become masters of the enterprise. In the battle to transform and build up the Anshan complex, we adhered to the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, and in a short period of time built a large iron ore mines, a huge blast furnace, a huge converter, and a machine capable of producing 10,000 cubic meters of oxygen. We completed many pivotal projects and transformed a series of equipment, boosting the production capacity of many old enterprises far beyond their designed levels. As a result, the output of ores was double, and there was a big-margin increase in iron and steel production. Under the impact of the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts since the beginning of this year, the state plan for iron and steel in the first half of this year was overfulfilled, setting the highest record in a like period in history. In these days of profound mourning for our great leader Chairman Mao, looking back over the development of revolution and production has enabled us to realize more deeply that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is our lifeblood, and the "Charter" endorsed by Chairman Mao is the basic formula for successful operaton of a socialist enterprise. Provided we always adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and seriously enforce the "Charter," we shall certainly win still greater victories.

The course of implementing the "Charter" has been accompanied by a violent struggle between the two lines. To restore capitalism, chieftains of the revisionist line from Liu Shao-ch'i to Lin Piao to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, all did their best to trumpet the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, negate the existence of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in enterprises, oppose taking class struggle as the key link, and hamper the implementation of the "Charter." After resuming work, Teng Hsiao-p'ing whipped up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and dished up the reactionary program of "taking the three directives as the key link," alleging "how can we remind ourselves of class struggle every day?" He harped on the hackneyed tune "It doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white; so long as it catches mice it is a good cat." He concocted the sinister "Regulations" in an attempt to get rid of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and revive the "Charter of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine of the Soviet Union." The struggle between the two lines revolving around the question whether to implement or oppose the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" has never ceased over the past decade and more, and it will continue in the future. This struggle is essentially a struggle between those adhering to the Party's basic line and taking the socialist road and those practicing the theories of the dying out of class struggle and productive forces and taking the capitalist road. The practice of struggle, particularly the practice of the current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, has deeply educated and enabled us to realize that the most basic way to implement the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" is to grasp the key link, class struggle, and continue to criticize and oppose the revisionist line. This is a long-term fighting task of a socialist enterprise.

What is the principal contradiction in a socialist enterprise? What is its basic task? What is the key link for all of its work? This has all along been the focal point of the struggle between the two lines in running enterprises. Previously we weren't clear about these questions of fundamental principle. Influenced by the revisionist line, for a long time we regarded an enterprise only as a production unit and relaxed the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, having failed to implement the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" properly. The great cultural revolution, the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, and, in particular, the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts have contributed to improving our consciousness. Reviewing and summing up the historical experiences and lessons, we have come to understand more clearly that the primary principle of the "Charter" is to place proletarian politics in command, that is, to take class struggle as the key link and put the Party's basic line in command. The principal contradiction in a socialist enterprise is one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; class struggle is the move force for an enterprise's development and the key link for all of its work. The history of development of our Anshan complex has again and again proved that whenever this key link, class struggle, is grasped, the "Charter" will be implemented and revolution and production will develop and advance, but that whenever class struggle is relaxed, the implementation of the "Charter" will be hindered and revolution and production will be adversely affected or even decline.

The excellent situation of revolution and production that has appeared in our Company since the advent of the great cultural revolution is the result of taking class struggle as the key link, adhering to the Party's basic line and conscientiously implementing the "Charter". Practice has made it clear that the most important thing to do in placing proletarian politics in command is to arm the workers and cadres with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to build an industrial army with a high degree of awareness of class and line struggle. Over the past few years, we have always placed the study of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works in the top position and developed the mass study movement vigorously. There are now more than 6,000 workers sparetime study groups and more than 1,100 workers theoretical research groups. A theoretical contingent 30,000 strong has been formed. This contingent has fought jointly with the worker masses in a penetrating criticism of revisionism and played a tremendous role in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship. Since the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was set in motion, the broad masses of workers and staff have seriously studied Chairman Mao's important instructions,deeply criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and the three big poison weeds--"On the General Program," "Outline Report" and "Regulations," further enhanced their ability to distinguish between genuine and false Marxism, and raised their consciousness of fighting against the bourgeoisie within the Party.

Seriously organizing the workers and cadres to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and to ceaselessly criticize the revisionist line is a major problem for consolidating the leadership of the proletariat in the enterprise and enabling our enterprise to go on advancing along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. There is no construction without destruction.

Only by deeply and thoroughly criticizing the revisionist line can we make Chairman Mao's revolutionary line strike deep root in our minds. Practice proves that only by doing so can we arouse the revolutionary spirit of the people to the maximum extent and raise their line awareness so that they will be able to use the correct line to analyze problems and sail on course during storms. When Teng Hsiao-p'ing was blowing the "vocational typhoon" last year, production by the No. 10 blast furnace in the iron refining plant fluctuated. How could we reverse the passive situation in production? The theoretical group of the workers operating the blast furnace studied the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's theses on classes and class struggle, and firmly believed that only by grasping the "key link" could they promote steel production. To do so, they must place politics in command of production and definitely must not grasp production for its own sake. Under the leadership and support of the Party branch, they wrote more than 30 commentaries including "Does Everything Else Hinge on the Key Link?" and "Follow a Line in Course of Work." They criticized the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces and opposed "taking the three directives as the key link." The Party branch also held a number of meetings to study the causes and adopt effective measures. As a result, production rose quickly. During the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts this year, all of our workers and staff have conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's important instructions and his scientific thesis that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party," and further raised their consciousness of the need to adhere to the Party's basic line, oppose attempts at restoration and regression, and persist in continuing the revolution. With boundless feelings toward the Party and Chairman Mao, they warmly praised the magnificent victories of the great cultural revolution and the great victory of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." They strongly criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing for vilifying the great cultural revolution and the excellent situation in the Company. They criticized his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." This gave full expression to the revolutionary resolve of the Anshan steel workers to resolutely defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

In taking class struggle as the key link and implementing the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," a very important problem is to build--in accordance with Chairman Mao's five requirements for bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause and the principle of combining the old, middle-aged and young--leading bodies at various levels into strong command headquarters capable of upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and leading the broad masses to fight against the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie within the Party in particular. The great cultural revolution has given the leading bodies at various levels in the Company a brand new look. Over the past few years, we have selected nearly a thousand young workers from the first line of the three great revolutionary movements and appointed them to leadership posts at various levels. About half of the members of leading bodies at various levels are new cadres promoted from the basic level and among the workers. New and old cadres learn from one another and fight together and all have become more vigorous. Of course, this does not mean that the effort to build up leading bodies ideologically may be relaxed. We had the following lesson a few years ago. After a revolutionary committee was set up on Yench'ienshan iron mine, its leading body became so arrogant and

conceited in face of achievements that it gradually lost the concept of class struggle and its vigilance against bourgeois attack. Consequently, the leadership power was usurped and for a time capitalist trends ran amuck. Later, with the help of the higher Party committee, they vigorously criticized revisionism and capitalism, defended the gains of the great cultural revolution, and seized back the leadership power for the worker masses. This made us see that under no circumstances should we relax ideological building because the leading body is new. If we do not seriously arm ourselves with Mao Tsetung Thought, we may still go astray.

The most important thing for ideological building of a leading body is to continue to raise its awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since this year began, we have organized one and all to seriously study Chairman Mao's important instructions on criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, make clear the question that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party," and deepen their understanding of the nature, target, tasks and future of the socialist revolution. In the course of study, we exerted ourselves both in theory and practice to make clear the principal contradiction in the socialist period and to analyze the law and characteristics of the activities of capitalist roaders in the enterprise. Members of leading bodies in many units, in the course of the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, summed up their own experiences and lessons in the two-line struggle and raised their consciousness of continuing the revolution. Encouraged by Chairman Mao's important directive on socialist education, both new and old cadres have gone to the shop floor to practice three togetherness and identify themselves with the workers, to learn skills from them. Consciously restricting bourgeois rights and seriously grasping class struggle, they have cemented their ties with the masses, and this has advanced the ideological revolutionization of leading bodies at all levels.

In taking class struggle as the key link and implementing the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," we must believe in and rely on the masses, respect their creative spirit, and be good at discovering the new socialist things ceaselessly emerging from among them. Since the advent of the great cultural revolution, a great number of new socialist things have appeared in the course of struggle in our Company. For example, domination of the various spheres of the superstructure by workers propaganda teams, the establishment of the workers sparetime philosophy and social science institute, the formation of workers inspection groups, old workers advisory groups, mass management networks, etc.--these new things have restricted bourgeois rights from every aspect, strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and promoted the implementation of the "Charter." In recent years, in order to more successfully promote the revolution in the superstructure and in relations of production, we have laid the emphasis on summing up and popularizing the experience of the Wang Chün-shao "one dragon" detachment at the Kungch'ang Range Iron Mine. The mining area in which Wang Chün-shao works has a total of seven types of operations, which in the past were separately put under the leadership of several workshops, but lack of cooperation between them impeded the development of production. Then came the great cultural revolution. Wang Chün-shao, a Communist, led the masses to break the rigid rules along the lines of the "Charter of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine", and established the "one dragon" cooperation

competition. A Party branch was set up in the detachment to strengthen Party leadership. This helped promote the communist spirit of cooperation and develop the initiative of the worker masses. In the four years the detachment was in existence, it completed work that would have taken six years. This year, it has again fulfilled its state plan ahead of schedule. The experience of this advanced model unit has been repeatedly summed up, popularized and extended, and a lively situation of large-scale socialist cooperation among plants, workshops and work sections has appeared throughout the Company.

Facts show that the workers want revolution, they will never stand still. Through the great cultural revolution, the awareness of class and line struggles and continuing the revolution has been considerably raised among the broad masses of workers, and the inexhaustible creative power latent among them will certainly be generated in the three great revolutionary movements to push the continuous deepening of the socialist revolution in the superstructure and in the relations of production in the enterprise. If the leaders in our enterprise do not make the effort to raise their awareness of continuing the revolution and thus let their thinking fall behind the situation and the masses, they will not see this socialist enthusiasm of the worker masses or the great strength of these new things sparkling with the light of communist ideas, nor will they warmly nurture and support them. In this way, it will be very difficult for them to rely on the working class wholeheartedly and run the socialist enterprise well.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The progress we have made in the course of implementing the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" since the great cultural revolution began has been a victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We are determined to rally very closely around the Party Central Committee, continue to develop the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, carry out Chairman Mao's behests, persevere in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

* * *

Criticize Revisionism in a Penetrating and Sustained Manner

by

Party Branch of Hsiaochinchuang Production Brigade

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

The news of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's death plunges all Party members, poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in Hsiaochinchuang into the deepest grief. As we think of Chairman Mao's benefaction, we can't suppress our tears. Chairman Mao was our great savior, and we poor and lower-middle peasants will never forget him.

We have again and again studied the "Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country" from the Party Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council, and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's memorial speech at the mass memorial meeting for Chairman Mao. We are determined to turn our grief into strength. We must carry out Chairman Mao's bequests, most closely rally around the Party Central Committee, and "act according to the principles laid down" as Chairman Mao adjured us. We must persist in taking class struggle as the key link, stick to the Party's basic line and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. At present, we must continue to deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, persistently and tirelessly criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie within the Party, and look at problems, ponder over things and do our work according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line so as to carry the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao through to the end.

In the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution,and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." To subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, the capitalist roaders within the Party always flaunt the red flag to oppose the red flag, push the revisionist line, and try by every conceivable means to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and taking class struggle as the key link. If we do not criticize revisionism and fight against the capitalist roaders, we will not be able to distinguish right from wrong in line but will lose our bearings in the complicated class struggle and follow the revisionist line. The reason why Hsiaochinchuang was a notorious unit with "big and longstanding problems" before the cultural revolution was that with Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line hanging over our heads and trouble made by class enemies and capitalist forces, the Party branch failed to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, grasp class struggle and criticize revisionism, thereby turning on the green light for capitalist flooding. Since the great cultural revolution began, we have summed up our experience and lessons, vigorously criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and led the broad masses in strongly criticizing capitalism and going in for socialism in a big way, thereby rapidly changing the backward features of Hsiaochinchuang,

which has now become an advanced unit in learning from Tachai in agriculture. In the course of struggle, we have continued to increase our ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and raise our consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Around summer last year, Teng Hsiao-p'ing dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," blew the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and maliciously attacked our Hsiaochinchuang. Observing and analyzing problems from the viewpoint of class struggle, we saw "taking the three directives as the key link" was opposed to taking class struggle as the key link and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the face of this "12th grade typhoon" whipped up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, we poor and lower-middle peasants, with "truth in heart and the Red banner in hand and going against the tide," worked in diametrical opposition to his revisionist line and upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the socialist period, the phenomenon that "capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road" is a historical phenomenon that will exist for a long time. We are determined to set up the concept of protracted war, continue to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, criticize such big poisonous weeds as "On the General Program," "Outline Report" and "Regulations" concocted on his instruction, and persist in the struggle to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie.

In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle against the Party bourgeoisie, we have come to realize with increasing clarity that the criticism of revisionism must be combined with that of the ideologies of all exploiting classes. For a long time the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of exploiting classes have shackled the laboring people. Although the exploiting classes have been toppled in the socialist period, their ideologies still persist stubbornly. As Lenin pointed out: "When the old society perishes, you cannot nail its corpse into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us. ("Joint Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants and Red Army's Deputies and the Trade Unions," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 27, p. 407). To push the revisionist line, the Party bourgeoisie invariably take the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as their important ideological prop, and class enemies in society also invariably use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and all decadent and declining ideologies in an attack against the proletariat and as an important means to restore the old order. If we are to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and occupy the rural position with socialist ideas, we must penetratingly unfold the socialist revolution in the ideological sphere, destroy what is old and build what is new, and "exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including various spheres of culture." Since the advent of the cultural revolution, we have vigorously grasped class struggle in the ideological area and led the broad masses to continue to sweep away the "four-olds" of the exploiting classes and occupy the rural position with socialist new ideas and new culture. Moreover, "10 new things" were created in struggle. The political night school, the theoretical contingent, singing songs in model revolutionary theatrical works, writing revolutionary poetry and telling revolutionary stories were used to create revolutionary public opinion on a large scale, criticize revisionism and capitalism, and restrict bourgeois rights and consolidate the socialist position in the countryside. The reason why Teng Hsiao-p'ing was so hostile to Hsiaochinchuang and desperately opposed "10 new things" was that

we seized the bourgeois position and destroyed the ideological foundation of revisionism, and thus made it difficult for him to restore the old order. This fact also told us by negative example how important it was to grasp the revolution in the ideological sphere in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism. The ideological sphere is a vital arena of class struggle. We must from now on persevere in the revolution in this respect, continue to warmly support new socialist things, develop the "10 new things," and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to arise anew.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." By keeping a tight grip on class struggle as the key link and persistently fighting against revisionism and Party capitalist roaders, we will seize the initiative in revolution and production and instead of being overwhelmed by difficulties, will certainly beat them. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "12th grade typhoon" did not blow us down, nor did the serious damage caused by an earthquake of magnitude 7 halt our march in continuing the revolution. This is because we have grasped class struggle and criticized revisionism and capitalism. On July 28 this year, Hsiaochinchuang was hit by a strong quake. What were we to do? We repeatedly studied a series of important directives given by Chairman Mao and tightly grasped class struggle as the key link. Recalling the historical experience of the two-line struggle in the three-year period of temporary economic difficulties and looking at the state of current class struggle, we soberly realize that in a class society, the struggle against nature is always bound up closely with class struggle and that class enemies always take adventage of difficulties created by the natural disaster to make trouble. This is true of the chieftains of the revisionist line as well as the new and old bourgeoisie. The anti-quake and relief struggle is not only a struggle against nature but also a serious class struggle. We must not see only the effects of the disaster without seeing the activity of the enemy, and we must be vigilant against the class enemies' sabotage and against revisionist and capitalist flooding. Since the quake, we have exerted ourselves to run the political night school well, organizing the masses to seriously study Chairman Mao's important directives and the comfort telegram of the Party Central Committee, and in light of realities, to penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the three big poisonous weeds such as "On the General Program," the "white cat, black cat" theory, and firmly set up the concept that man will triumph over nature and that by relying on socialism we shall surely overcome the natural disasters. This inspired the confidence and determination of the broad masses in winning the anti-quake and relief struggle. All said proudly: "The big quake starts a big revolution." Driven by the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, our brigade again reaped a bumper harvest in the fall. Facts show that both in easy and difficult times, we must stick to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and ceaselessly unfold criticism of revisionism.

In early September, we were preparing a report to Chairman Mao on how our brigade, guided by his revolutionary line, penetratingly unfolded the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right

deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts and carried out the anti-quake and relief work. To our dismay, before the report is finished, Chairman Mao has left us forever. Oh, Chairman Mao, the people of Hsiaochinchuang will never forget you, for you are the red sun that will never set in our hearts. Chairman Mao has passed away, but invincible Mao Tsetung Thought is immortal. We are determined to adhere forever to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing penetratingly, repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, win still greater victories in the anti-quake and relief struggle, and carry through to the end our struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party, so by our concrete action we shall go on writing our report to Chairman Mao until communism becomes a reality.

* * *

We Mean to Criticize the Theory of Productive Forces

by

The Commentators Group of Limin Production Brigade of Suihua County, Heilungkiang

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Sept. 23, 1976)

Soon after the arch unrepentant Party capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing went back to work, he dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" in opposition to taking class struggle as the key link and the Party's basic line, advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, and peddled the theory of productive forces. He sputtered: "Let's not criticize the theory of productive forces anymore. We'll only do so at the expense of production!" Then in "On the General Program" concocted under his aegis, this set of revisionist fallacies were set forth to viciously attack the correct policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production." It was claimed that since the great cultural revolution began, "only politics and not economics, and only the revolution and not production are attended to." This is clearly to confuse black and white and to mount a vicious and rabid counter-attack. We poor and lower-middle peasants armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought see through Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary motive in opposing the criticism of the theory of productive forces. His ballyhoo for "grasping production well" is sheer balderdash. His secret aim is to oppose revolution, disrupt production and restore capitalism.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a sworn enemy of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Even before the great cultural revolution, he did his best to advocate the "white cat, black cat" theory. Under the excellent situation marked by great victories of the great cultural revolution, since he felt it rather difficult to continue to sell the rotten "white cat, black cat" theory, he hung up the signboard of "grasping production well" and continued to peddle the theory of productive forces. But no matter how he disguised himself and how sweet his words were, we poor and lower-middle peasants knew what he was up to and would never oblige him. Before the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "white cat, black cat" theory already did a lot of harm to us poor and lower-middle peasants. At that time, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, some cadres of ours, instead of paying attention to revolution and class struggle, put production first and work points in command and relied on material incentives to arouse the enthusiasm of commune members. As a result, class struggle was brushed aside and capitalism reared its head. With the cadres opening the greenlight, some people abandoned farming in favor of trading and profited themselves at the expense of the collective. A handful of class enemies took the opportunity to make trouble and carry out sabotage. There were no farmland capital construction projects. Production declined considerably when a serious natural disaster struck and declined even without inclement weather. This painful lesson is still fresh in our memory. In "On the General Program," Teng Hsiao-p'ing harped on the theory of productive forces again in the guise of "grasping production," and by so doing he wanted to turn back the wheel of history, restore capitalism and make people go back to the old capitalist road. We poor and lower-middle peasants resolutely rebuffed him. No matter how hard he tried to oppose the criticism of the theory of productive forces, we poor and lower-middle peasants

insist on criticizing it penetratingly and thoroughly, and will never allow it to spread unchecked. "Only socialism can save China." We are determined to follow forever the broad socialist path pointed out by Chairman Mao and keep marching toward communism.

When it comes to the relationship between politics and economics and between revolution and production, Marxists have always held that economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics and that politics decides the direction and road of economic and technical development. Politics commands economics and technology, and the relationship between them cannot be equal, much less reversed. Lenin said: "Politics cannot but take precedence over economics. Not to affirm this is to forget the ABC of Marxism." ("More On the Trade Union, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, p. 441) To oppose putting proletarian politics in command and taking class struggle as the key link will inevitably cause economic work to go astray. Of course, to stress the commanding role of politics does not mean that economic work is unimportant. Indeed, our great leader Chairman Mao and our Party have always attached major importance to economic work. But we must not discuss "grasping production well" in isolation of the general objective of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the general task of having the proletariat triumph over the bourgeoisie and the general orientation of the socialist road. If we accept the fallacies advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in such big poisonous weeds as "On the General Program," the result will be not only failure to do a good job in production but also serious disruption of the socialist relations of production and socialist production. A large number of facts have fully borne this out. Chairman Mao's great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" precisely gives correct expression to the dialectical relationship between politics and economics and between revolution and production, and it is a correct policy for developing the socialist economy.

Since the advent of the great cultural revolution, our brigade has criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng H o-p'ing, carried out the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," and insisted on putting politics in command of economics. The cadres and masses persistently study theory, grasp the line, criticize revisionism and capitalism, and use socialism to occupy the rural position. Warmly fostering new socialist things, the brigade has set up an exhibition hall on class and line struggle education and organized "the great cultural revolution is fine" reporting groups to compile and write the village history, the history of agricultural cooperation and the history of the great cultural revolution to sing the praises of Chairman Mao's great achievements, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the brilliant victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution. A team of theoretical instructors, a literary and art propaganda team and a team of correspondents were established to fervently propagate the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. Every production team runs a political evening class, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is studied every day. This has considerably raised the consciousness of the cadres and the masses in class and line struggle and continuing the revolution, deeply changed people's mentality, and enhanced socialist activism. With the

vigorous development of the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members till the land for the sake of the revolution and promote scientific farming, accelerating the pace of agricultural mechanization and continuing to consolidate and expand the collective economy. Booming growth has been achieved in agriculture, forestry, stockbreeding, sideline occupations, fisheries and other fields of endeavor. Since 1971 grain output has risen year after year, with per-mow output increasing by 100 catties and the amount of grain sold to the state rising by a million catties annually. In 1975 per-mow grain output reached 630 catties, crossing the "Yellow River," and more than 5.5 million catties were sold to the state. The brigade, which previously owed the state 120,000 yuan, has now more than 720,000 yuan in its public reserve fund. It has seven tractors, one truck, and 72 farm machines including threshers and pulverizators. Facts eloquently prove: The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful propellant for the development of production. The fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing willfully smeared the tremendous achievements gained by the people of the whole country by adhering to the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" and attacked our Party and the broad masses for "talking only about revolution and not production" can only show that they are restorationist maniacs who stick to the bourgeois reactionary stand and are hostile to the great cultural revolution, the proletariat and the laboring people.

Our difference with Teng Hsiao-p'ing, fundamentally speaking, is not whether to develop production but what kind of line to follow. It is a question of principle of for which class we should develop production. Why did Teng Hsiao-p'ing in such big poisonous weeds as "On the General Program" go all out to peddle the theory of productive forces? In plain truth, he wanted to make people listen only to the humming machines and not to the sound of gunfire of class enemies and the Party bourgeoisie attacking the proletariat. By opposing taking class struggle as the key link and negating the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, he wanted to disarm us ideologically. He wanted to use the black cloth of "production first" to blindfold our eyes and plug our ears, so we wouldn't grasp class struggle and fight the capitalist roaders within the Party and instead allow him to restore capitalism unhindered. The theory of productive forces peddled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" and turns against the fundamental Marxist principle. If we accepted his revisionist line, we would not be able to develop production, and even if we did, we would only create the material conditions for capitalist restoration. Chairman Mao pointed out: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." Hitting the nail on the head, this reveals the reactionary essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in opposing taking class struggle as the key link and consistently promoting the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. In socialist construction, we must put the relationship between revolution and production in correct perspective. Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it. Only when the key link is grasped will everything fall into place. The practice since we initiated the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts has made us further understand that deepening the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing will push production forward. The revolution is the locomotive of history. The countryside is by no means only the base for grain production, but is first of all a position for

consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. To grasp production for its own sake is to let capitalism run rampant to the disadvantage of production. To grasp revolution and promote production will lead to substantial development of socialism and production while the outlook of people will also change.

Chairman Mao will live forever in our hearts. His brilliant thought and proletarian revolutionary line will shine forever. We are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, seriously study his splendid works and important directives, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, stick to the Party's basic line, and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. At present, we must concentrate on deepening the criticism of the three big poisonous weeds, "On the General Program," "Outline Report" and "Regulations" concocted on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instruction, carry out more consciously the great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," and always march triumphantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

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